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THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
JOHN SINCLAIR, LORD PENTLAND
G.C.S.I.



Pentland.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
JOHN SINCLAIR, LORD
PENTLAND, G.C.S.I.

A MEMOIR

BY
LADY PENTLAND

WITH A FRONTISPICE IN PHOTOGRAVURE AND 20 OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS



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THIS memoir has been put together with the help of many friends; to all of them grateful thanks are offered. The Madras part occupies the most space because its material was the most plentiful, and also because my husband had thought of recording his experience in India himself. He could have told amusing stories which cannot now be recalled. But this account of his career may be justified if at the same time it helps to illustrate the lives of many others who spend their years in the public service.

M. P.

October 1928

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* *Photos by the Author*



LORD PENTLAND

I

YOUTH

JOHN, eldest son of Captain and Mrs. George Sinclair, was born at 6 Moray Place, Edinburgh, on the 7th July 1860.

The Sinclairs, says Sir Walter Scott, 'are descended from the Norman baron, William de St. Clair, who was called for his fair deportment the Seemly St. Clair; after settling in Scotland during the reign of Malcolm Canmore he was made cupbearer to Queen Margaret and received lands in Midlothian'. His descendant, Sir William St. Clair of Roslin, was a companion in arms of King Robert the Bruce, and in 1317 he won a grant of the royal lands on the Pentland Hills near Edinburgh as the reward of a daring wager. In the words of a chronicler, Father Hay, 'the King declared to his nobles how he had oft hunted a white faunch deer, neither ever could his hounds prevail. Sir William St. Clair, having two red fellow hounds named Help and Hold, says that he would wager his head that they should kill the deer before ever she came over the marche burne; the words no sooner evanished in the aire, but it was declared to the King, who would have him abide att his word, and laid against his head all Pentland Hills and Pentland Moor with the

Forest.' The tale is also told in a ballad by Whyte-Melville:

The white faunch deer like an arrow flew,
The good hounds followed fast;
I trow they drove her from slot to view
Ere noon was fairly past.

The black march burn falls steep at the bank,
To the pitch of a horseman's chin,
But Hold's grey muzzle is hot on her flank,
And the white faunch deer leaps in.

Light down! light down! thou St. Clair bold!
Or never go hunting more,
Now have at her, Help! now hang to her, Hold!
And they turn her back to the shore.

So Help and Hold saved their master's life and gave him the lands of Pentland; their effigies lie at his feet in Roslin Chapel. 'That chapel proud', with 'every pillar foliage-bound', and 'every rose-carved buttress fair', was built in 1446 by his descendant William Earl of Orkney and Caithness, 'Lord High Chancellor and Lord Justice General of Scotland, Lord Admiral of the Scots Seas, Baron of Roslin, Pentland and Pentland Moor in free forestrie'; 'with other titles, enough to weary a Spaniard', says Father Hay, who describes him as 'a very fair man, well proportioned, humble, courteous and given to policy'.

One branch of the Chancellor's family settled in Caithness, and about 1680 George Sinclair, great-grandson of the 4th Earl, bought the lands of Barrock and Lyth, in the centre of the north-east corner of Scotland, between Wick, John o' Groats and Thurso. His great-grandson, Colonel John Sinclair, succeeded in 1842 to the title of the baronetcy of Dunbeath as 6th Baronet. He drained and improved Barrock estate, and round the house he induced woods to grow that were supposed to be the finest in Caithness, where trees are rare. From Lyth

fingerpost the roads, fenced by Caithness flagstones, run in straight lines across a level country of moors, farms, and crofts, and the eye travels over airy spaces right to Sinclair Bay in the east, to the heights of Hoy in Orkney, beyond the Pentland Firth, in the north, and to the peaks of Morven and Scaraben in the south. When Sir John married Margaret Learmonth, who as a girl in Edinburgh had played the harp before Sir Walter Scott, he brought her on horseback to the Ord of Caithness, and then in a farm cart forty-five miles across the moor to Barrock.

They had three sons, who, after being educated at St. Andrews, all entered the Indian Army:

1. John, born 1822, who joined the Madras Native Infantry, commanded the 3rd Hyderabad Regiment, and fell while gallantly leading his men at the siege of Jhansi, 1858.

2. Alexander, born 1824, who commanded the 26th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry, and after distinguished service in Persia, in the Mutiny and in campaigns against the Bhils, Tantia Topee and the Naikeras, died at Jeypore, 1871. His elder son was Colonel Sir John Sinclair, D.S.O., D.L., 7th Bart., Vice-Lieutenant of Caithness, who was born 1864, and who, after a career of gallant and energetic work for the Army and for his county, died at Barrock House in 1926, gratefully loved by many friends.

3. George, born 1826, who joined the 63rd Bengal Native Infantry 1844, and served through the first Sikh War 1845-6, and on the N.W. Frontier, 1852. He became Captain and Adjutant of the 6th Cavalry 1853, but owing to his health he was ordered to the Cape for two years, and then again 'to the bracing climate of England or Scotland for three years'; and in 1859 he left the service and married his cousin Agnes, daughter of Mr. John Learmonth of Dean.

The Learmonths had picturesque traditions of their lineage too, for they claimed descent from 'True Thomas' Learmont the Rhymer, of Ercildoune, the earliest Scottish poet, supposed to have gained his gift of prophecy from his sojourn with the Queen of fair Elf-land. Mr. Learmonth himself, his father and ancestors of several generations were tanners and coach-builders, who each in his turn was entered on the Edinburgh Burgess Roll as Burgess and Guild Brother. He was Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1831 and 1832, the last to be elected under the yearly tenure. So he was Lord Provost at the time of the public agitation over the Reform Act of 1832 and the Municipal Acts of 1833, which reformed the municipal franchise and put the burghs of Scotland upon their present representative basis. He twice stood as Conservative candidate for the city. In 1833 he built and presented to the city the Dean Bridge, designed by Telford, at a cost of £30,000 (with a contribution of about £4,000 from the Cramond Road Trustees), thus providing a public benefit and ornament, and also an access to his own feuing lands on the Dean property north of the Water of Leith. He was the first promoter and Chairman of the North British Railway, which was started from Edinburgh to Berwick in 1844. His coach-building business, which he afterwards sold to Messrs. John Croall & Sons, was carried on at 4 Princes Street, on the site of the present North British Railway Hotel.

Mr. Learmonth died in 1858, and when his daughter married Captain Sinclair the following year they lived at first in her old home. So their first child John, called Jack by his family, was born within the stately circle of Moray Place. Later they moved just across the Dean Bridge to 5 Buckingham Terrace, where Jack's brothers were born: Charles George Sinclair, now at Grahamslaw, Roxburgh, and George Henry Sinclair, who died 1926.

Jack did his part as a loyal citizen first when he was exactly one month old, for on 7th August 1860 his parents took him to see Queen Victoria drive out from Holyrood and review the Volunteers. The *Scotsman* next day described how 'peal after peal of cheering broke from Arthur's Seat, all one mighty mass of human beings, as more than twenty thousand men, the best men of every class and district, presented themselves before their Queen, a self-formed and self-armed army'.

Jack's early memories were of many friends coming to the house; of dinner parties when an Indian cook came to make the curry; of games of golf at Musselburgh and North Berwick with his father; and of the sound of Chopin's melodies from his mother's piano as he fell asleep. His first teacher was a young lady, Miss Swanson, who still remembers his good manners, his wish always to have a clean handkerchief, his eagerness about the General Election of 1868. The first of his series of prize books are for being 'dux' in six subjects at Mr. Henderson's school in India Street. The daughters of Professor and Mrs. W. Y. Sellar, who were friends and neighbours at 15 Buckingham Terrace, remember Jack's erect figure passing their window on his way to this school; and the story of 'how he gave the protection of his escort to a little girl who was being bullied (on account of her trade connections) and by walking home with her every day for the first week, turned the tide of feeling in her favour'. They also 'so well remember his mother saying when he was about 10 or 11: "I think Jack was born good, and every day he lives he gets better" '.

In 1870 Jack joined the 'Geits', the first class at the Edinburgh Academy, and there for three years made progress towards the 'well-cultivated mind', which Sir Walter Scott, when opening the school in 1824, described as 'the greatest possession they could have, next to a

conscience void of offence towards God and man'. Principal Shairp, an old pupil, once said that 'no Academy boy ever learnt any part of scholarship there which he afterwards had to unlearn, go where he might; and he had ten continuous months of as faithful teaching and as hard a grind as any school in Britain.' In those days the same master took boys up through their whole course; the picture was impressed on Jack's mind of the class of sixty or seventy boys sitting round in a half-circle, dominated by Dr. Clyde in the middle, ready to fix on any of them with a question. This was in 'Scholarship' (Latin and Greek), the first object of the Academy; and Jack always retained a taste for the classics and a hope of further study. He was one of the first two or three in the class, and another was his lifelong friend D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, now C.B., Litt.D., F.R.S., etc., whose father wrote *The Daydreams of a Schoolmaster* and also *Nursery Nonsense, or Rhymes without Reason*, illustrated by Charles H. Bennett. These rhymes remained favourite phrases with Jack, such as:

Said Miss Given to Miss Fortune
As they sat together at tea,
I am sure I was never Miss Taken,
For Miss Taken never was me.

In the courtyard before the portico the Academy boys played the old game of 'Hailes' with small wooden bats called 'clackens', and on Jack's very first day at school he was carried home unconscious after a collision with a big boy, now Mr. Leslie Balfour-Melville, well known as a golfer. Viscount Haldane, who was at the Academy a few years earlier, said when speaking to the Cadet Corps in January 1909: 'They tell me that out there in the big yard "hailes" is no longer played. "Hailes" was the thing we played more than anything else in those times. No wise Academy boy in my time went up

Church Lane unarmed, and the clacken was his arm. I am told that you may now go up Church Lane quite peacefully. I am told that the boys spend twopence and even threepence on their luncheon. We never had more than a penny.'

Jack went with his parents to St. George's Parish Church, and was admitted to the Church of Scotland there in 1876. The minister, Dr. R. H. Stevenson, was a close friend, and his sons remember that when as boys they went round to their neighbours' houses collecting for Queen's Birthday fireworks, Captain Sinclair came out himself with a cheerful word and gave them a one-pound note, when wealthier householders sent out a shilling by their servants. Captain Sinclair was well known as a collector of Jacobite books, coins, miniatures and so on; and he took great trouble inquiring about the history of a silver Sacrament service, a ring, and other purchases of his which were said to have been the property of Mary Stuart. But on 23rd March 1871 Captain Sinclair died of congestion of the lungs, following a chill. His death was thus alluded to in the Edinburgh newspapers: 'No one who was even slightly acquainted with Captain George Sinclair—and in this city he was widely known and respected—could receive unmoved the unexpected announcement of his death at the early age of forty-five. To the greater number of his acquaintances it was not even known that he was ill. Unselfishness and benevolence were marked features in his character, and many a charity will miss the aid of so popular and energetic a canvasser. Many will join in acknowledging—for they must have felt—the force of a remark made several years ago, by a friend no longer in Edinburgh, that "Captain Sinclair was, without exception, the most amiable man he ever met". His warm and steadfast friendship will remain like a green spot on the memory of many in this city and country who knew

him well.' A resolution of regret came from the Edinburgh Caithness Association: 'No sooner had he been appointed a Director than he very cordially adopted a suggestion that the Ladies of Caithness might unite in the formation of a Bursary. Through his energetic and unwearied labours this object was happily accomplished and he lived to see the first Ladies' Bursar prosecuting his studies at the University of Edinburgh.'

In the holidays Jack and his brothers sailed from Leith to Wick to stay with their grandfather, Sir John Sinclair, at Barrock; where they fished the lochs and rode on their ponies to John o' Groats and all about the country. They were sent for a time to the school at Lyth with the crofters' children, and the blacksmith there told me how as a boy he guided Jack to the best trout pools in the burns. Mrs. George Sinclair, a cousin, remembers that at Barrock 'Jack used to lie on the grass under the tree in front of the dining-room window with his beloved books, for he loved reading Carlyle, Ruskin, etc.'. As a small boy he got into trouble once for being found engrossed in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, too late at night, in his bed. For other holidays Mrs. Sinclair took houses in the country for her boys; or travelled with them in Germany, Switzerland and France, to places she had formerly explored on carriage tours with her father. Almost the only bit left of Jack's writing as a boy is in some lines copied into his mother's album in 1871, and oddly enough they convey exactly the sentiment which he upheld with such conviction later.

THE TOY OF THE GIANT'S CHILD,
from German Ballads. Translated by Richardson.

She opens her kerchief carefully, and gladly you may deem;
And shows her eager sire the plough, the peasant and his team;
But her father looked quite seriously, and shaking slow his head,
'What hast thou brought me home, my child? this is no toy,' he said;



JOHN SINCLAIR, AGED 6 1/2 YEARS



CAPTAIN GEORGE SINCLAIR
AND HIS SON JOHN, AGED 2 YEARS

'Go take it back again and put it down below.
The peasant is no plaything, girl, how could'st thou think him so?
'Tis from the peasant's hardy stock the race of giants are:
The peasant is no plaything, child—no—God forbid he were.'

In 1873 Jack went to Wellington College; which was the national memorial to the Duke of Wellington and was opened by Queen Victoria in 1859. It was meant first for sons of deceased officers, but on this foundation Dr. Benson (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) had built up a great public school, as salubrious in spirit as in its natural surroundings. His successor was Dr. E. C. Wickham, who wrote to Jack in 1892: 'You came to Wellington the same term that I did, and I am especially glad to see a pupil who used to seem of great promise, though then he was set towards another line, entering Parliament.' Jack was first in the form and in French and German nearly every term; at 15 he entered the Mathematical Sixth and from 1876 he was Prefect and head of the Orange Dormitory. He was in the choir all the time. The late Mr. J. L. Bevir, a schoolfellow, wrote: 'I have never met with anyone whose life was so beautifully consistent. At Wellington he was always merry, and trod delicately so as to avoid all that was vulgar. I met him next in a cavalry regiment and found him as genial and modest as at school; and often since—he was always the same.' In March 1876 Mrs. Sinclair wrote to Jack at Wellington hoping 'his cold is better after that big mustard plaster; what a "corker" it must have been: is that the right word?' But she herself got a chill, followed by congestion of the lungs, and she died in Edinburgh on 17th March. Jack arrived a little later, summoned from school by telegram. Once, long afterwards, he recalled coming home in that early morning, and added, 'For any sorrow like that there is only time, and silence.' Those who knew Mrs. Sinclair recall her as an ardent lover of music and a very fine

pianist; *très bien mise*; well read in English, French and German literature, as her books testify; capable in practical affairs, though always aware of the unseen; one in whom reserve was accompanied by deep feelings and who aroused unusual affection in her friends. The devotion which united Jack and his mother was plain to every one.

Jack and his brothers now spent their holidays shooting and fishing in different parts of the Highlands, in South Uist and in Shetland. His grandfather, Sir John Sinclair, died in 1873 and Lady Sinclair in 1879; they and their daughter Grace, who died in 1849, were the last of the family buried in Holyrood Chapel. This was an old Sinclair privilege, but the space is now all filled and the chapel is no longer used for burials.

In 1878 Jack went to Sandhurst and the next year he passed out fifth, with a revolver prize for tactics. He received a commission in the 5th Royal Irish Lancers, and joined the regiment at Woolwich in October 1879; his fellow officers called him THE BOY. He qualified as instructor at the School of Military Engineering and took a musketry course at Hythe. When the regiment went to York in 1880 he started hunting with enthusiasm and spent his leave for several years hunting in Cheshire; the particulars of each day with the hounds was neatly entered in a hunting diary.¹ In February 1881, owing to disturbances in Ireland, the regiment was moved at a week's notice from York to Newbridge,

¹ SUMMARY OF HUNTING 1882-3.

Stayed at Swan Inn, Tarporley, with Wenjie from Jan. 3 till March 13.
Had in the season,

1 day with Meynell.

2 days with Sir Watkin.

4 days with North Staffordshire.

27 days with Cheshire. Also 1 (clinker) day with Meath.

Before Xmas, in Ireland. 5 days with Kildare.

Co. Kildare, Ireland; on the march to Liverpool they had to lead their horses because the roads were so icy. According to the records of the annual regimental races for the next four years, Sinclair rode his horses in two or three races every year, winning the Light Weight Cup, and the St. Patrick's Heavy Weight Cup twice; and he also rode at point-to-point meetings all over Ireland. In 1882 he became adjutant of the regiment, and in 1884 a captain, at the age of 24. His pursuits may be illustrated by a few notes from his diary of this year, extracted from the accounts of hunting. Sometimes it is written for practice in French or German; on Sundays there is always Church Parade, and he goes as well to the afternoon musical service at St. Patrick's Cathedral.

Jan. 5, 1884: Pachmann Concert. 27: Squadron went to Kill o' the Grange for Nationalist meeting.
30: Drawing-room. Never again!

Feb. 20: Reading *Ecce Homo*.

March 31: Read Ewald's Life of Prince Charles Stuart. Military Law.

April 28: London. Went to the House with Bobby Spencer.

May 12: Concert: Hallé, Neruda, de Munck, Patti.

June 21: Hurlingham. Final with 7th Hussars: grand game, beaten 4 to 3.

August 9: Polo, won Irish Cup from Scots Greys.

August 23: Passé. [Captain's exam.]

After March 15.

5 days with Kildare.

Total 44 days, not including Harriers.

Horses. 1. Joker.

2. Sella.

3. Beware.

4. Blazes.

5. Priestess.

6. Sensation.

Oct. 23: Musketry with recruits. 'Esoteric Buddhism' very interesting. 'There shall they rot—Ambition's honoured fools!' C'est ça—Cui bono.

Oct. 24: Finished Sinnett, must read it over again, but this life is altogether too short.

Oct. 28: Drove the coach.

Nov. 1: Drove Doyne to opening Ward meet at Kennels, Ashbourne. Nice gallop by Kilbride to Priestown.

Nov. 3: Court martial made me too late to hunt. Saw Toole in 'The Upper Crust', and 'Mr. Guffin's Elopement', very good.

Nov. 4: Played racquets.

Dec. 25: Not too much Xmas but just Xmas enough.

Dec. 31: Danced in the New Year.

In January 1885 he went with Captain 'Wenjie' Jones and Captain Tufton to Florence and Venice. There they heard of the chance of active service, and dashed home. An expedition was being organized to deal with the tribesmen collected by the Mahdi's lieutenant Osman Digna against Suakin; and the 5th was to furnish two squadrons. The diary records:

Feb. 1: At Florence; reading *The Autocrat, the Christian Year, Romola*.

Feb. 4: Venice.

Feb. 11: Paris—London—Dublin.

Feb. 13: No chance of going out.

Feb. 15: Got orders to go!

The two squadrons sailed from Kingstown on 20th February, and met a gale. Sinclair always said this voyage cured him of sea-sickness, because every one was sick and he had so much to do looking after the 200 horses and 250 men that it was impossible to be

ill himself. They arrived at Suakin on 13th March and on the 20th took part in the action of Hasheen, where they charged the Arabs and helped to capture the position. This was the last occasion on which the lance-flag was used attached to the lance, under service conditions. In 1912 a late corporal in the 5th Lancers wrote good wishes for Madras, saying: 'It is a long time now since you gave those few words of caution and encouragement at the battle of Hasheen, before giving the order to charge; as one of your old troop it is a picture I shall never forget.' All ranks received the war medal with clasps for Suakin 1885 and Tofrek, with the Khedive's bronze star, and after the campaign they rejoined the regiment at Brighton.

Captain Llewellyn Heywood Jones, late 5th Lancers, writes of this time: 'There are endless memories and stories of our time in the regiment together; The Boy was a very good and rising soldier, so conscientious and hard working, and of course I with the rest of us deeply regretted his leaving. I wish you could have seen him when he joined us at Woolwich. He was the smartest and best-looking subaltern in the Cavalry, and so keen on polo, hunting, etc. I remember one story about Suakin we were all rather fond of. The Boy had got a charger, a big horse that pulled very hard and was as much as he could manage, and at the battle of Hasheen he was sent on rather a risky ride with a message to Sir Gerald Graham. His horse got excited at the firing and the stray Fuzzies and took charge, so much so that he was clean pumped out when he arrived. Sir Gerald smiled a bit and said "Take time and collect yourself", when The Boy retorted "I'm not afraid as you think, I'm only b-b-blown". Every one in the regiment loved him. The Boy was always just the same to me as he was 45 years ago.'

Major Cosmo Little, late 5th Lancers, writes: "The

Boy" as he was always called by his soldier friends, was a most efficient soldier and we never had a better or more popular adjutant. The regiment was quartered in Ireland from the beginning of 1881 to 1885 and was employed in those troublous times at evictions, etc. He was often escort officer to Lord Spencer from 1882 to 1885 and used to accompany him out hunting. I was at that time A.D.C. to Lord Spencer and we all three had many a pleasant day's hunting together with the Meath and Kildare Hounds.'

Another friend, Captain Julian Spicer, late 5th Lancers, says: 'Going out for rides with The Boy, we used to talk and talk and laugh! He and I always saw the funny sides and mannerisms of people and he used to imitate them. [He was always a good mimic.] But we both agreed that soldiering was a wasteful life and that a civilian life could be much better employed and The Boy had the courage and strength of his opinions and carried out his ideas.'

In the History of the 5th Lancers by the late Colonel J. R. Harvey, D.S.O., completed by Lieut.-Colonel H. A. Cape, D.S.O., and published with a foreword by Viscount Allenby in 1923, Colonel Harvey tells this story: 'It was during the Brighton fortnight, 1885, and the races were in full swing. The 5th Lancers were entertaining with their usual hospitality, and among the guests was Jim Barry, entertained by John Sinclair (The Boy). A new Colonel had just been appointed to command the regiment and was expected to arrive that day from Africa; but all the officers thought that as he had been away for some years, he would be sure to stay the night at home, out of barracks. So after a jovial night at mess, the young bloods arranged to have a midnight race on the Brighton race-course, on the same lines as a Hussar regiment once perpetrated at Ipswich in the thirties or forties, handed down to posterity in a series of coloured

prints. The orderly officer for the day arranged to perform his turning out the guard early, and then he reckoned he was free to act as participator. Jim Barry was selected to ride Sinclair's mare and as one who had won three Irish Grand Militarys in succession, was the favourite. When he went off to the officers' stables to give instructions to the groom the Irishman said to him as he was mounting her, "You are sure to win, if the chains are not up." It was pitch dark, but there were plenty of lanterns and lights about, whilst girths were being tightened and leathers fitted. The kits were multifarious; Jim Barry was in shirt sleeves, with his evening trousers inserted in a pair of borrowed Wellington boots; McNeill (Mac) wore a nightshirt with his gold laced overalls protruding underneath; Fawcett (Old Friend) similar. Jones (Wenjie) was acting as bookmaker and preparing his book, while Jim Barry as the favourite, and 100 to 1 against the author, who was riding his first charger, late the property of the retiring Colonel. The horses were being held by the servants, who, curious to say, were many of them wearing uniform, which no servants in the 5th Lancers ever did, except they were on Church parade or night guards. Suddenly a person rushed up, dressed in civilian clothes, very irate, and promptly placed every one under arrest. It was the new Colonel, who had just entered the barrack square. The following morning, "officers' call" was sounded, and he addressed the regimental officers and said, "Officers of the 5th Lancers, I have no objection to your riding races any hour of the day or night; but the sentries must not leave their posts to saddle the horses." All these Irish youths had discarded their equipment in order to see this midnight race of their officers.'

Sinclair indeed delighted in all the fun and sport of Irish life; but he knew its deeper feelings too, for from 1880 to 1886 he had lived in the middle of Irish history

at its stormiest. On 6th May 1882, coming through the Phoenix Park after polo, he rode across the spot where, ten minutes later, Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke were assassinated. He had to keep order at evictions and meetings; he saw the tumult over the Land League and the boycott; his later belief in Home Rule sprang from this first-hand experience. In those dangerous days the Viceroy was accompanied by a mounted escort, and it was as escort officer that Lord Spencer (5th Earl, Viceroy 1882-5) came to know him. So when in February 1886 the Earl of Aberdeen was appointed by Mr. Gladstone to be Viceroy of Ireland, Lord Spencer advised him to ask Sinclair to be an A.D.C. Sinclair, who had taken 'Rose Cottage' at Melton Mowbray for his leave that season, to hunt with the Quorn, Cottesmore and Belvoir hounds, accepted, and returned to Ireland. Two aides-de-camp came into waiting for a fortnight at a time, and when the first two were finishing their duty Lady Aberdeen remarked to one of them: 'What a nuisance it will be to start again with a stranger.' 'Oh no, it won't, your Excellency,' he said, 'every one loves The Boy.' From this time onwards Lord and Lady Aberdeen were his close friends and he was always welcome at their house. During his six months on the staff he made acquaintance with Mr. John Morley, the Chief Secretary, and with many of Lord and Lady Aberdeen's friends, among them being Professor Henry Drummond, and Lady Aberdeen's brother, Edward Marjoribanks (afterwards Lord Tweedmouth), then Scotch Liberal Whip and keen on the scent of candidates. So in June 1886, when Mr. Gladstone dissolved Parliament, after being defeated in the House of Commons on the Home Rule Bill, Sinclair agreed to stand as a Liberal.

The 5th Lancers had won fame on their return from India in 1875 by giving an assault-at-arms where tent-

pegging and other displays of horsemanship were introduced, including 'the new Indian game of polo'. Sinclair played for the regiment in Ireland and at Hurlingham. One of his opponents in the 7th Hussars' team was the late Earl Haig, who wrote to him in 1892 of 'when we used to have those annual matches at Hurlingham—I suppose your political work does not allow you much leisure for the *great* game now?' In 1886 the 5th Lancers had hopes of winning back from the 7th Hussars the Inter-Regimental Military Champion Cup. A fortnight before the Final, however, there was a match described by the *Field* as follows: 'Hurlingham, June 19, 1886: The first event was a contest between the Military and Civilians and a very interesting struggle was witnessed. It was arranged to play 4 heats of 15 minutes each . . . the score now stood even, two goals each, and desperate efforts were made to get another point. Charge and counter-charge followed in rapid succession, but unfortunately the struggle was brought to a premature conclusion owing to an accident which befell Captain Sinclair. It was at first thought to be serious, but happily turned out to be not so bad as anticipated.' They had played more than one chukker overtime, his pony slipped up, and another player's pony galloped over him, its foot breaking his jaw and knocking out a lot of teeth. His diary says: 'Got a knock at polo . . . 4 hours with dentist.'

Mr. G. J. Campbell, ex-Sheriff of Inverness-shire, writes: 'My first acquaintance with Captain Sinclair in 1885-1886 was through a note of introduction from Lord Tweedmouth (then Whip) when I was in London in quest of a candidate to oppose the then Mr. Robert Finlay (Lord Finlay) in the Inverness Burghs. I found Captain Sinclair in his rooms at 44 Park Lane, with his face swathed in bandages owing to a severe accident he had had at polo the previous day. He feared he could not

address public meetings with a fractured jaw for some time and I had very regretfully to hunt elsewhere.' However, on 22nd June he was on his way to meet the Ayr Burghs Liberal delegates in Glasgow. Mr. William Wilson writes of this election: 'A meeting of delegates from all the Boroughs was arranged to meet the candidates and as Captain Sinclair had been recommended by Mr. Gladstone we called for him first. When he came in we could not see the lower half of his face for a bandage, but he took off the bandage and explained his accident. It was evident to us all that speaking caused him pain, so I said, "May I ask you a question, Sir, it may save you considerable pain? If you are returned, would you be in favour of giving a liberal measure of Home Rule to Ireland?" His answer was, "Certainly, I would give her as large a measure of Home Rule as is consistent with the unity of the Empire, for example, such a constitution as Canada now enjoys." After questions on Scotch business and fisheries, the fishermen's delegate from Oban rose to his feet and said: "It is much more and better than ever I expected. Indeed all his answers are most satisfactory so I propose that we accept him for the Liberal Candidate for the Ayr Boroughs, and as soon as his mouth is better we will expect him in Ayr to begin his canvass." It was not long till he was back, and we noticed a great change in his appearance, and his first speech was a masterpiece. It was not a long one, nor yet a loud one, but it was an impressive one. But all our speeches and enthusiasm were of no avail, for we were beaten at the polls by nearly 1,200 votes. However, we spent a very pleasant evening afterwards and Captain Sinclair said it was the queerest night for a defeated party to spend that he ever knew but he thought it better than sulking.' The figures of the result were:

Campbell (U.L.)	2,673
Sinclair (G.L.)	1,498
U.L. majority	<u>1,175</u>

Home Rule had been defeated heavily here, as in the country as a whole. However, Sinclair had made his first attempt as a candidate: 'He pronounces his words well, and with an English accent not too marked; at the heckling he would not be caught in any trap, but he was not evasive,' was the verdict of a reporter at Oban.

After some shooting and fishing in the Island of Lewis, Sinclair returned to his regiment at Brighton and started plans for lectures and readings for his men. He put his ideas into an article afterwards published in the *Contemporary Review*, October 1889, under the title 'Is a Soldier's Life Worth Saving?' His argument was that a man's seven years in the army are often a handicap instead of a training when he returns to civil life, and that education should be provided that will be 'practical and useful to the man for his duties of life after he leaves the army'. He suggests that two or three years after enlistment each man should take up a trade to which he would have to devote regularly a portion of his time; and also that in the Army there is the opportunity for continuing general education: 'teachers, pupils, lecture-rooms . . . in fact the whole machinery ready. Cherish honourable tradition; but sweep away every unnecessary relic of antiquity.' He writes from Brighton in October 1886 to Henry Drummond: 'The train is laid for Penny Readings and such like for the winter evenings. . . . When one thinks of all that is in a muddle in the Army, a sort of feeling comes over one, that it is rather cowardly to run away . . . that I ought to stay on in the Army and try on . . . try my best: that would mean trying for the Staff College and hard reading till June. To

be good in one's profession is essential. . . . The thing is . . . where is one likely to be of most use?; after having some experience in the art of war, but yet being a man of peace, anxious to avoid fighting and war by any means. How you will laugh. Would you in your travels remember anyone you may come across who would be kind enough to help one to any information as to the interior work in the German Army?"

Finally he sent in his papers in January 1887. Lord and Lady Aberdeen asked him to join them in a trip to India, Tasmania, Australia and New Zealand, where he stayed on for some weeks when they went home. On the journey he was reading *Obiter Dicta, The Expansion of England*, and, besides lighter literature, writings of Ruskin, Newman, Matthew Arnold, Jevons, Freeman, John Morley, J. R. Green, James Hinton, John Fiske. He came back through Canada and the United States, and wrote from there to Drummond: "They can teach us a good deal, don't you think?"

In order to train for his new service of politics, Sinclair worked with a coach at a course on the Economics of Industry; he read law and started eating his dinners. He became a resident at Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, the first University settlement, started in 1884 by Canon Barnett, whose influence and teaching he always acknowledged with gratitude. Canon Barnett called Sinclair 'the most courteous man in the world', so said Mrs. Barnett. Mr. Vaughan Nash, C.B., C.V.O., now Vice-Chairman of the Development Commission, writes: 'There is bound to be some strain and self-consciousness in the best of institutions, and at Toynbee we were no doubt aware of ourselves, and aware of the gaze of perplexed and respectful onlookers in that most free and hospitable of institutions. This helps to explain why Sinclair's appearance amongst us was so particularly pleasant and salutary. Completely free from self-con-

sciousness, unpreoccupied by himself and without any visible trace of a vocation, suppressed or otherwise, his cheerfulness, simplicity and winning manners were as welcome as a sunny day in winter. I recall him as a trim, erect figure with uncommonly candid, kindly eyes, a first-rate listener, and a good mixer (to use a word unknown at that time), though not specially communicative as regards his own opinions, hopes and intentions. But what he did communicate was of more value than many words, and this was the impression of a singularly sweet, disinterested nature, a nature which as you came to know him proved to be all compact of goodness.'

Another friend he made at Toynbee was Mr. J. A. Spender, and there are notes of a talk with him over work for the Association for the employment of discharged soldiers. He helped also with the Country Holiday Fund, Education Reform League, Technical Education Conference, and Adult Schools: and there are notes of an inquiry he made into a strike that arose from statements by Mrs. Besant. He was director of a Workwomen's Co-operative Association which tried to check sweating by starting a proper factory for needle-women; and with three others signed the prospectus for a 'Co-operative Aid Association.' Thirty societies showed their products at an exhibition which was organized by him in 1888, and held in Lord Aberdeen's house, 27 Grosvenor Square, in order to spread a knowledge of co-operation in the West End. In this way Sinclair worked with Mr. Benjamin Jones, General Manager of the London Branch of the Co-operative Society, who writes: 'Sinclair was a model of logical caution, but when his reasoning faculties were satisfied took action with absolute fearlessness. I never saw him with the slightest ebullition of temper: he was always master of himself in an apparently unconscious manner. His capacity for initiation, organization, and administra-

tion appeared to me to be of a very superior quality. His tact, persuasiveness, patience, and steel-like determination, coupled with a complete absence of desire to be placed in the limelight, almost always brought him success. I was impressed by his capacity for working, the wideness of his views, his human sympathy, clearness of insight, and entire freedom from class arrogance. This especially appealed to me because I have invariably felt more respect for the ordinary working man than I did for, say, a duke. I confess that I am not keenly in favour of biographies, because the writer generally omits, evades or glosses over any defects or other imperfections in his subject. And my people look upon me as a severe critic, but I have been surprised to find what a strong hold Sinclair's memory has on me. I have interested myself in trying to enumerate his good qualities, and was amazed at their number, as well as the absence of faults or defects. . . . Carefully reviewing all the men whom I have known, I have come to the conclusion that John Sinclair was the nearest of them to perfection.'

Another estimate of Sinclair at this time was quoted in 1904 by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman who said at a presentation that 'a man who is himself the model of a Christian gentleman [meaning Lord Spencer] once said in my hearing that no one could have the acquaintance of Captain John Sinclair without being the better of it'. Sinclair on his part had a deep regard and admiration for Lord Spencer, since the days in Ireland when he rode beside the carriage of that intrepid Viceroy, or followed him to hounds; and it was to him that Sinclair owed the beginnings of his Liberal faith. So in 1888-9 he acted for a time as unpaid private secretary to Lord Spencer, whose system was to give him access to all private and confidential papers and boxes. Sinclair used to say that this freedom permanently eradicated in

him any curiosity about other people's affairs. Another post which he held for several years at this time was that of Hon. Secretary to the London dépôt of the Irish Industries Association.

On four Sunday afternoons, in the summer of 1885, Professor Henry Drummond had given a series of addresses to crowded audiences of society people in the ballroom of the Duke of Westminster's house, Grosvenor House, Park Lane. In 1888 Drummond was invited to come and deliver some more addresses; the signatures to the request were: Aberdeen, Arthur James Balfour, W. St. John Brodrick, George N. Curzon, R. Munro-Ferguson, Alfred Lyttelton, W. S. Murray, George W. E. Russell, J. E. C. Welldon, and John Sinclair, who acted as secretary. Drummond wrote to Sinclair in reply, from 3 Park Circus, Glasgow: May 5, 1888, 'I feel very unequal to this piece of work, but after the most serious consideration I feel bound to face it. The kind interest of yourself and of your fellow conspirators in the matter is of itself almost enough to determine my decision; and on all grounds I am persuaded I ought at least to make the attempt.' Three meetings were held at Grosvenor House in June, for men only, because the accommodation was limited to five hundred. The *Pall Mall Gazette* of 11th June said: 'The great square room was densely crowded by an interested and representative gathering—politicians, clergymen, authors, artists, critics, soldiers, and barristers, with a large sprinkling of smart young men, whose appearance would scarcely have suggested a vivid interest in serious concerns.' The addresses were on The Programme of Christianity, Evolution and Christianity, and Natural Selection in Reference to Christianity.

Sinclair was certainly fortunate in his training. Besides being at Toynbee Hall in its early days, he had the opportunity of seeing another experiment in voluntary

work and progressive ideals carried out by men who had both experience and enthusiasm. In 1888 Mr. Ritchie, President of the Local Government Board in the Conservative Government, brought in his Local Government Act establishing County Councils. Sir John Benn, 1st Bart., in an article written in 1920 when he was 'Father' of the London County Council, described its early days thus: 'The Old City, with its charter direct from William the Conqueror, still regarded its square mile in the centre as the sole custodian of London's original funds and ancient rights. "London Without" consisted of dozens of parochial areas, loosely held together by the Metropolitan Board of Works. . . . The Old City having in 1836 thwarted Lord John Russell in his attempt to bring its area within his beneficent Municipal Corporations Act, still stood as the only unreformed city in the kingdom. . . . In framing his Act it became necessary for Mr. Ritchie to do something with conglomerate London. He feared to make it a great and united City, and so by a few words in the Act, he created the London County Council. Why County, goodness only knows. Once again the Old City cleverly evaded reform and still clung to its rights and privileges. It failed, I think, to do itself justice by declining to take its proper place at the head of the vast population which had grown up around its ancient walls. . . . The fact that my publishing business was a few hundred yards outside old London Wall had hitherto barred me from becoming a member of the Common Council of the Old City . . . the advent of the new County Council at last offered the chance of public service, and I gladly accepted an invitation to stand for the East Finsbury Division. . . . The Act gave two members to East Finsbury, and so it became necessary to secure a colleague. I was indebted to Lady Aberdeen for assistance in finding one. She introduced

me to a Toynbee Hall man, Captain John Sinclair, a young and enthusiastic social reformer. He made an admirable candidate, and we were accepted at the poll. . . . Captain Sinclair and I went to the first provisional meeting at Spring Gardens on January 31, 1889. . . . A more varied or representative assortment of citizens can hardly be imagined. With Lord Rosebery at one end and John Burns at the other, it could well claim to cover the gamut of London society. . . . The Progressives outnumbered the Moderates by a majority of two to one . . . but without reference to any party differences, the great ideal which governed those early reformers', concludes Sir John Benn, 'was nothing short of the vision of a city wherein . . . the former things were passed away.'

In the picture of the first Council which now hangs in the County Hall, Sinclair is represented talking with Mr. Frederic Harrison; a position, wrote the artist, 'which Mr. Harrison thinks excellent.' He was one of the many new friends made by Sinclair on the Council.

After the Council's first term of three years was over, Sinclair's work was summed up by a newspaper thus: 'Captain Sinclair has been a busy member of the Council. He has not spoken often at the meetings, but has a remarkably good record for committee work, and it is on the committees that the real work of the Council is done. He has been on the Sanitary, now the Public Control Committee, of which he is Vice-Chairman; the Housing, the Asylums, the Water and the Market Committees; and a number of sub-committees. He was chairman of the sub-committee for Housing in the S.E. district, and of the sub-committee on the municipal common lodging-house which is being erected in Parker Street, Drury Lane. This is one of the greatest steps forward in municipal organization which the Council has taken. He thinks that large additions to the open

spaces of London are required, and would like to see wide boulevards leading out into the country.' This was written in February 1892 after Sinclair had issued a joint electoral address with Mr. John Benn to the electors of East Finsbury. But when Lord Rosebery, who had been the Chairman of the Council, decided to seek election again on a Progressive platform, Sinclair, who was in any case busy with Dumbartonshire, withdrew in his favour. Another paper says: 'Recently Captain Sinclair rose a step higher in the good opinion of all Liberals by a public-spirited act which facilitated Lord Rosebery's return to the London County Council.' East Finsbury expressed its thanks to Sinclair for his services, and when Lord Rosebery addressed the electors there he said: 'You owe much in my opinion to those honest laborious faithful men who have served you on the County Council for three years, and whose merits you have recognized. There is one of them, Captain Sinclair, who was one of our most admirable members. He was really arduously interested in the work of the Council; he worked hard; he talked extremely little, and we all of us feel that though we have lost Captain Sinclair, he is one of those members we should like soonest to see back again.'

One practical result of Sinclair's London experience was the start of a movement which of late has spread and flourished. Mr. Henry W. Nevinson wrote to the *Manchester Guardian* in 1925: 'May I add my personal memories of one great service that Lord Pentland accomplished for London, and as I believe for other great English cities? When, as Captain John Sinclair, he was on the London County Council, it struck him how very few opportunities for outdoor games London offered to the majority of her young men and women, who are either poor or only just above poverty. So he called a number of cricketers and football players

together and formed an association then known as the London Playing Fields Committee. Sir Edward Chandos Leigh, Speaker's Counsel [President of the M.C.C.], was the first Chairman, and Sinclair [who was appointed Hon. Secretary] invited me to be the first Secretary. The movement was supported by Edward North Buxton, W. G. Grace, A. J. Webbe and many others, the present King also giving his name to one of our grounds. We divided the London district into quarters, each under a separate committee, and in each we laid out cricket, football, and tennis grounds, let at a small rent to large numbers of poorish clubs which could afford to pay something. In some cases we rented the land, in a few we were able to purchase the freehold as playing fields "for ever". In memory of my friend, I should like farther to say that, of all the men I have ever met in my long experience of life, he was by far the best mannered and the most "charming".

The Rev. Thory Gardiner, now Canon of Canterbury, then Sub-Warden of Toynbee Hall, writes: "To-day the need of Playing Fields is recognized by all; Sinclair realized it nearly forty years ago. He had made himself familiar with Boys' Clubs in South and in East London, and through Professor Drummond he was in touch with the Boys' Brigade. He felt the lack of comradeship as well as the moral value of playing for your side rather than for yourself; he knew the manifold forms of mischief into which many working boys may fall through lack of the mental occupation which a love of games gives. On the other hand, he rebelled against the lack of opportunity from which working boys suffered. In those days "equality of opportunity" was a familiar phrase. . . . "They haven't a dog's chance," he used to say, and he grew petulant and irritable, I had almost said savage, as he poured forth radical views. I witnessed the infinite pains he took to

get up a successful inaugural meeting. He worked hard to get together a crowd—no easy thing in the London of those days. And the division made by the Home Rule Bill cut very deep, and people who would have helped held aloof because of his politics. Sinclair aroused the interest of leaders of industrial opinion; he quickened the sympathy of the great athletes of those days, and he achieved a far more considerable success than faint-hearted friends anticipated. But he kept himself studiously in the background. I remember well a little group of young men who attended that meeting; they came away in high dudgeon because he had kept himself out of the picture, pretending that others, and not he, had done all the work. But expostulation was wasted; he had his own ideals, and his own ways, and these he doggedly pursued.'

The London Playing Fields Society, which was started at an informal conference summoned by Sinclair, and held at Lord Aberdeen's house, 27 Grosvenor Square, on 15th November 1889, has carried on its work ever since. In 1925, when incorporated by Royal Charter, it owned and managed about 300 acres of freehold land which have been saved as open spaces and playing fields for London, bought and maintained without any expense to the rates. These grounds give room for over 7,000 players of cricket and lawn tennis in summer, and about half that number for football and hockey in winter. In 1925 the National Playing Fields Association was started to accomplish the same objects all over the kingdom. Sinclair liked the words,

Bid me work but may no tie
Keep me from the open sky;

this was his wish for himself, and for everyone else as well.

II

PARLIAMENT

FTER the defeat of the Liberal Party on Home Rule at the General Election of July 1886, Lord Salisbury became the Conservative Prime Minister, and for six years he remained in office with the support of the Liberal Unionists. Meanwhile Sinclair was ready to volunteer for another fight, and in March 1888, when there was a vacancy in the Liberal seat of Mid-Lanark, he was asked by the Liberal Whips to go down there as the official Liberal candidate. Mr. Keir Hardie, however, also appeared as a candidate, saying that the electors ought to choose a man entirely devoted to the interests of labour. Other candidates were proposed too; and Sinclair, as the *Glasgow Herald* put it, 'loyally withdrew in order to keep the Liberal vote unbroken'. But eventually another Liberal, Mr. J. W. Philipps, now Lord St. Davids, came forward and was elected. Mr. Keir Hardie only polled 617 votes, but he then formed the Scottish Labour Party, which was enlarged in 1893 into the Independent Labour Party, and in 1892 he was returned for South West Ham. He was rather a lonely figure in the House at first, but Sinclair kept up friendly relations with him, and Canon Thory Gardiner remembers going to a meal with Sinclair at the House of Commons in order to meet Keir Hardie.

Sinclair was next chosen for the assault of Dumfriesshire; it was 'rather a plucky thing to accept,' said

a newspaper, 'for this has long had the name of being the most difficult and dangerous constituency in the West'. The last time a Liberal had been returned was in 1837, when Sir James Colquhoun (Lib.) polled 452 and Alex. Smollett (Con.) 411. So the seat looked as impregnable as its own Rock of Dumbarton, which stands guard over the slopes of the beautiful county behind. Up the river stretches an avenue of shipyards and engineering works. Below, along the curve of the Gareloch, are the homes of many Glasgow citizens who have come to live there, looking to the afternoon sun over the Firth of Clyde. Sinclair first took a small house in The Crescent, Dalmuir, where hundreds of men passed his windows morning and evening on their way to and from the large works there. Mr. R. B. Cunningham-Graham writes: 'There is a certain Terrace in Dalmuir, close to the railway station—a dreary smoke-shrouded rain-pelted place, that I never pass without thinking of your husband, for he lived there.'

The late Mr. Thomas G. Forbes, B.A., formerly head master of Old Kilpatrick, wrote in 1925: 'For over 50 years prior to 1892, the representation of Dumbartonshire in Parliament had been in the hands of the Tory Party. At every general election, except one when it was uncontested, it had been contested by Liberals without success, by outstanding candidates; J. W. Burns of Kilmahew; R. T. Reid, afterwards Lord Loreburn; and R. M. Ferguson, now Lord Novar. In 1889 Captain John Sinclair was unanimously adopted as Liberal candidate and the "Captain", as henceforth he was affectionately known, set himself strenuously to the spade work. With a residence in Dalmuir, the industrial centre of the constituency, and afterwards at Bowling, he moved in and out among the people, not only securing, by his political honesty, their votes, but also, by his simple, unaffected manner, finding a warm place in their



I am sincerely yours
John Sinclair.

CAPTAIN JOHN SINCLAIR
ABOUT 1890

hearts, for it soon became apparent that the “feint o’ pride, nae pride had he, mair than an honest ploughman”, and scenes, like the following, are still cherished memories of not a few in the County of Dumbarton. On a call from the candidate the good man of the house might be found temporarily absent; on his return his heart would warm to the spectacle of the “Captain” seated with “the wife and bairns” round the kitchen fireside engaged in the full enjoyment of a congenial “crack”.

Many leading Liberals helped him; foremost among those in the county was Mr. J. Campbell White, afterwards Lord Overtoun, always his generous supporter, host and friend. He was welcomed in the smaller houses too, as Mr. Allan Maclean, late Secretary of Vale of Leven Liberal Association, says: ‘In his coming and going from a social standpoint, whether partaking of the lavish hospitality of Lord Overtoun or supping a bowl of braxy broth with the Macleans in Craft Street, Alexandria, he was just like one of the family. Of him it could be truly said,

In the palace among princes,
In the cot where peasants dwell,
There his name was held in honour
By the friends who loved him well.’

Sinclair’s diary shows that for over three years he carried on here a constant round of meetings and visits. 16th December 1891, he notes as Free Evening!!—spent estimating election expenses. He was careful not to add to them and when urged to spend more in order to vie with the Tory candidate, he refused on the ground that Dumbartonshire was a suitable seat for a working man and he did not want to make it harder for one to follow him. Eventually the returns of election expenses were £1,127 for him and £1,422 for the Conservative. These are some more extracts from his diary at this time:

‘December 1891. Bowling, Dumbartonshire. Mr. Young told me that 8 years ago in Singer’s [the great sewing-machine factory, latterly employing over 11,000 hands] men were working 56 hours per week. They now work 53 hours, turning out 8,500 machines per week; an increase of 3,000 on the output at the earlier time—practically no extra hands at present employed. . . .

‘A Sabbath School teacher was asking his class what they would most wish to ask God for; a good heart? next boy: “a mouse trap,” on which, whisper from his neighbour: “Hoots, man! God couldna gie ye a moose trap—I’ll lend ye mines!” . . .

‘At Langholme station after Duntocher meeting, Forbes told me of a passenger asking the fare:

Morning—*Passenger*: “Third single to Dumfries?”

Booking clerk: “3s. 6d.”

Passenger: “I’ll gie ye twa’nd nine.”

Midday—*Passenger*: “Third single to Dumfries?”

Booking clerk: “3s. 6d.”

Passenger: “I’ll gie ye three shullns.”

Evening—*Passenger*: “Third single to Dumfries?”

Booking clerk: “3s. 6d.”

Passenger: “Weel, I suppose I maun gie it,
but I’ve kept ye a bonnie lang time oot
o’ yr siller.”

When in London Sinclair sometimes went out to stay with Lord and Lady Aberdeen at Dollis Hill, where he used to ride about measuring and planning fields for his London Playing Fields Society. At Dollis he met Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, who often came for the week-ends. For instance, in his diary for May 21, 1892, he writes:

‘Dollis to dine. Presently in comes Mr. G. announcing “two bandits”—himself and Mrs. G.; and we all sit down to tea, 11.30 p.m. One cup of tea and no

bread and butter for Mr. G. They have enjoyed their cool fresh drive down. Mr. G. first talked of Mr. Dillon who had been at the dinner to-night, and of the charm of the pure Celtic nature—excelling the Anglo-Celtic; then told us of his having guessed beforehand within one, the number of omnibuses he met, driving down to Dollis. 30, + 5 added for Saturday night, was his guess. 70, he said, is the largest number he has ever met; and where there are 70 now, there used to be only 40 seven years ago. Then of the want of travelling facilities 60 years ago—practically none within the means of poor folk—stage coach too expensive, and only for long distances. Nothing but the waggon—5d. and often 6d. a mile—a rough jolting conveyance; but the roads generally good except in chalky country districts: e.g. road from Oxford to High Wycombe. The worst macadam at the present time is in London—not for want of good material but for want of a good bed, which should be possible.

‘May 22: Mr. G. at breakfast talked of Dr. Chalmers, whom he had seen in the General Assembly prior to the Disruption, and of his “ungovernable honesty”. On one occasion he asked Mr. G. to walk out with him in order to explain the disastrous effect on his own pecuniary position of some contemplated changes in the Establishment. C. started a favourite topic—the Poor Law, Territorial Establishment, or some other—discoursed upon it the whole time, and when parting with Mr. G. promised to send his agent to acquaint him with the facts about the proposed change in his emoluments. During the walk over the “bridge of Dean” and along the Queensferry Road, Chalmers’ hat blew off—where the land falls from the wall (above Comely Bank before the toll): Mr. G. got over the wall, Chalmers holding out his stick to help him up the ten feet back over the wall on to the road. Mr. G. also told a story

of the present Duke of Argyll's father being greeted by "Oh ye reprobate," by a woman who, looking out of a window one Sunday, spied him whistling as he walked down a slum street.

"To-night at dinner Mr. G. and Professor James Stuart were discussing the enormous waste in nature, e.g., of the sun's heat, acorns, etc. Mrs. G. from the other end of the table: "Orange peel, I *do* grudge."

"Talking of Healy, Mr. G. said: "I think Healy honest," and approved his tenacity in forcing from the Government an appeal in some Crimes Act case.

"No umbrellas, no greatcoats at Eton, and the Chapel never warmed, yet no one felt cold. "I have never suffered from getting wet—gratitude impels me to show a certain degree of confidence that it will not occur." Mr. G. would simplify the death duties to a percentage on all property alike—realty and personalty—abolishing the consanguinity scale. Talking of America and Free Trade Mr. G. recalled and adherred to what he had said some fifteen years ago in the North American Review in a friendly controversy with Robert Lowe, viz. that Free Trade would make the U.S.A. the first maritime power in the world; Great Britain the second but greater as the second than she now is as the first. This Fair Trade cry of Lord Salisbury's is simply for election purposes and will be repudiated later on.'

At length in June, 1892, Lord Salisbury dissolved Parliament and another General Election was fought with Home Rule as the main issue. In Sinclair's election address he put Home Rule as the first duty of the Liberal Party, and supported electoral, licensing and local government reform, the Eight Hours Bill and Employers' Liability Bills, and such reform of the land laws 'as shall tend to secure further to every man the fruits of his own labour and outlay'.

Mr. Forbes writes: 'The campaign preceding the General Election of 1892 was in intensity and enthusiasm such as the electors of Dumbartonshire had never before experienced. At that time a popular song, "O my darling Clementine," was much in vogue. Verses indicative of political opinions were fitted to the melody, in which the chorus "O the Captain, O the Captain, O the Captain's doin' fine," took the place of "O my Darling", and with which the audience opened every meeting of the campaign in Dumbartonshire. At a meeting at Duntocher composed largely of Irish the Chairman was unable, *on account of enthusiasm*, to obtain a hearing for the candidate. At the request of the audience politics for a time took a back seat and the time was spent in the holding of a levée by the Captain, each member of the audience ascending the platform, shaking hands and expressing, in characteristic fashion, his good wishes.'

The enthusiasm over the result was in proportion to the previous excitement, when on 13th July the figures were declared to be:

Sinclair	(L.)	5,249
Wylie	(C.)	4,956
		—
Liberal majority		293
		—

The feelings of Sinclair's supporters were relieved by unyoking the horses from his carriage and pulling it to the Clydebank hall; by a display of fireworks along the coast of Helensburgh, and by bands and bonfires, like the one at Kirkintilloch made, wrote a supporter, 'with 10 or 12 carts sticks and 1 cart coals': when the result was declared there 'every man, woman and child in the crowd lost their reason for half a minute'.

Another friend who often took the chair at Sinclair's

meetings was the late E. C. Cortis-Stanford, Esq., who applied his Liberal principles among his own employees in the chemical works he had established at Clydebank fifteen years before, when the place consisted of one farmhouse. His daughter, Mrs. Robertson Cameron, writes: 'I remember Captain Sinclair's arrival at Dalmuir Station after his victory. Every entrance to the station, and the road all round, was blocked by a grizzly seething mob of workmen newly out from the yards; and there was a perfectly rapturous cheer of welcome when at last our new M.P. was seen descending from the railway carriage. The next moment he was being "shouldered high" between solid, almost tearful, lines of workmen. We wended our way home, wishing vainly that we also might join the swarthy mob, and a little afraid also that the great victory was going to remove our hero. But in a very short time my brothers appeared in the avenue with the well-known figure between them; and then we finished up the great day with a royal game of hide-and-go-seek, and the new member for the County ran the swiftest, laughed the merriest, and of course, was the prime object of search. For us, he will always live an example of the most perfect English gentleman "who nothing common did or mean".'

Lord Spencer, who had been one of those to come and speak for Sinclair, wrote to him: 'You richly deserve it . . . and I heard some Scotch M.P.'s the other day say that your election was the most remarkable event in the recent elections in Scotland. I thought your pamphlet excellent, as did Mr. Gladstone; I was speaking to him about it last week.' This was a pamphlet Sinclair had written on Ulster and Home Rule as a warning that Lord Randolph Churchill's words 'Ulster will fight' contained the seeds of disaster and that Orange leaders were pledging their followers 'to a course of action desperate, impracticable and disloyal, the developments

of which it is impossible for these leaders to foresee or control'. Mr. Gladstone wrote to Lady Aberdeen about it: 'An *excellent* tract; I hope Captain Sinclair has all his references ready for production if necessary. I suggest the insertion of one word.'

The net result of the general election was a majority of 40 for Home Rule (355 Liberals, including 81 Irish members, against 315 Conservatives, including 47 Liberal Unionists); and in August Lord Salisbury resigned and Mr. Gladstone formed his fourth administration. Mr. Henry Campbell-Bannerman was appointed Secretary of State for War, and he invited Sinclair to be his assistant private secretary at the War Office. Lord Spencer had been Viceroy and Campbell-Bannerman Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1884-5. They had remained excellent friends, and it was probably to Lord Spencer that Sinclair owed this new post. Rt. Hon. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, G.C.I.E., K.C.B., then private secretary to the Secretary of State at the War Office, says that he expressed doubts about having a soldier for communicating messages to the Q.M.G. and other Generals (now the Army Council). But Campbell-Bannerman replied: 'Oh, this one will be all right; I believe he's most tactful,' and so it proved. In their work Sir Guy got the feeling that Sinclair would never agree to anything against his principles; and later on he heard of its being said at the Scottish Office: 'No good —nothing will get that through.' While at the War Office Sinclair carried out one of his ideas by helping to form an Aid Society for ex-soldiers.

It was on the second reading of the second Home Rule Bill that Sinclair first spoke in the House, just after the dinner interval on the last night of the debate, on 21st April 1893. After a week of discussion, feeling ran high; a reporter says that 'in a short speech Captain Sinclair had to battle for attention, but won a hearing

by his reasonable view of the state of Ireland and its needs; "after all, Irishmen are like other men, and the only resource now is to throw ourselves on the free consent of the Irish people". The decisive Hear, hear, of Mr. Sexton broke in again and again.' Mr. Austen Chamberlain also delivered his maiden speech in this debate. When Mr. Gladstone wound up at midnight he referred to it as one that must be dear and refreshing to a father's heart, and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain bowed, evidently touched by the compliment. Mr. Gladstone's speech rivalled his early triumphs (he was now eighty-four) and there were great cheers as he walked up the floor after a majority of 43 in the division.

In the course of this Parliament, besides acting as staff officer to his chief, Sinclair skirmished on his own account as a Scottish member; he moved amendments to Scottish Fisheries and Parish Councils Bills, and asked questions ranging from Imperial penny postage to piers in his constituency. He introduced a deputation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to urge that the Indian cotton duties of 1894 would fall more heavily on dyed than on undyed goods, and would protect the Indian dyer and hit the Vale of Leven Turkey red trade. He also spoke in the House on this question; the duty was afterwards lowered.

There was a coal strike in Scotland in 1894, and after it had lasted seven weeks Sinclair went to Glasgow to confer with Mr. Smillie and others of the Miners' Federation about the distribution of funds collected for the miners from an appeal made by Mr. Augustine Birrell, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Hozier and himself. He went to the meetings of the Trades Union Congress in Glasgow in 1892; he carried a resolution for the training of teachers at the conference of the Educational Institute in 1895; and read several papers on social questions.

He notes in his diary at this time:

'March 1, 1893: Kay Shuttleworth and Spencer were riding in the Park one morning—two youths walking together were descried by Spencer shouting and waving their arms about: he said the police ought really to stop such rowdyism among young fellows in a place like the Park—the young fellows turned out to be Asquith and Rosebery! . . .

'March 22: Mr. Lincoln, the American Minister, told of a lady in Boston, known rather to stand on her dignity. She called for a cab through the telephone, and after some delay received the answer "you'll be a lucky girl if you get him". Sent her husband to reprimand the impertinence, and inquiry showed that this answer was a scrap of the conversation among the operators, transferred to the wire by induction. . . .

'Dec. 6, 1893: Dined at 6 Grosvenor Place [Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's]. Mather [Sir William Mather] gave interesting figures showing results of 8 hours' experiment established in Salford Iron Works 7 months ago. The day men work 48 hours per week instead of 53 or 54 hours as previously; the percentage of wages to total cost of production is practically the same; 32.1 in one case, 32.2 in the other. Under the 8 hours' system lost time is one half only of the lost time under old system; foremen report that less supervision is required. The net result so far of this experiment in a works employing on an average 1,000 men is most encouraging from a business point of view. And it makes family life more orderly and comfortable; they can now breakfast together and the evenings are less restricted.'

Sinclair's diary of this time also records visits to Belgium and the Loire, and he considers 'studying languages abroad—Germany—France—Spain—Italy?' Hunting now appears in his diary only by report.

‘Hear that the Jedforest [where his brother hunted the hounds] have had a record run—*O nimium fortunati!*’ For exercise he returned to golf; the easy swing he always kept showed he had learnt the game as a child. In the 5th Lancers he had been astonished to find that golf was almost an unknown word. He belonged to the Royal and Ancient Club at St. Andrews, and the Gullane Club; the St. George’s Golf Club at Sandwich, which had been founded in 1887, he joined in 1890, and the Royal Cinque Ports Club, Deal, as an original member in 1892. He belonged also to the Chorley Wood Club; Princes Golf Club, Mitcham, and New Zealand Golf Club, Byfleet, where he once won the Brooklands Cup.

In 1891 Mr. Birrell gave a lecture at Cowdenbeath on £5 worth of books. At Clydebank in 1895 Sinclair spoke on a list of books for 5s., with some remarks on reading and the use of leisure, and on ignorance as a cause of class differences. He offered prizes for the best letters, addressed to ‘Dear Sandy’ about these books, which were: *Mr. Midshipman Easy, It’s Never Too Late to Mend, Ivanhoe, Hypatia, The Golden Butterfly, The Cricket on the Hearth, Burns’ Poems, Marmion, Carlyle’s Essays on Scott and Burns, Heroes and Hero Worship, Mazzini’s Essays, The Pilgrim’s Progress, Jevons’ Primer of Political Economy, The History of Plants*. He gave the publishers and prices, making a total cost of 5s. $\frac{1}{2}$ d. He also offered prizes for the best answers to six questions on political economy. For several years Sinclair endeavoured to start a Liberal daily paper in Scotland, and Henry Drummond wrote to him in 1895: ‘Your news of the *Paper* stirs me. Every white man in Scotland will bless you if you can inaugurate this. If you want to pursue the thing, write privately to Dr. Robertson Nicoll. He knows Scotland and he knows what editing is better than any man in London. He has many irons in the fire and should be in your councils.’ Sinclair

replied: 'Robertson Nicoll came to lunch with me as you suggested and we talked and talked and are to talk again; . . . we simply must make a move.' From Drummond: 'I was much interested in your report of Nicoll. I suppose things have shaped themselves no further in your inventive brain. I compared the *Scotsman* report of the Tunbridge Wells Horseless Carriage Fête with that of the *Chronicle*. Alas, the former was the better! It was just like you taking the forlorn Malcolm to the Royal and Ancient. Like Greenfield's man, what an "awfully d——d good fellow you are". Come any day, hour or minute. My love to Barrie.'

In 1893 the House of Lords rejected the Home Rule Bill, and in 1894 Mr. Gladstone resigned from the office of Prime Minister. Lord Rosebery succeeded him, but resigned in June 1895, after the Government had been defeated in the House of Commons by 7 votes, on the allegation that the reserve of cordite ammunition was insufficient. Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister for the third time, and leading Unionists such as the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain joined his Government. Parliament was dissolved, and at the General Election in July the Liberals were badly beaten.

Equanimity is needed by all those who face the unstable fortunes of politics: this time after a desperate encounter the Tories just got back into their Dumbartonshire citadel by 33 votes. The figures were:

Wylie (C.)	5,375
Sinclair (L.)	5,342
Conservative majority	<hr/>
	33

'It was looked upon by the people like a local calamity,' writes one supporter. Mr. T. G. Forbes says: 'A

specious misrepresentation of the dealing by the Liberal Government on the Indian cotton duties—a matter vital to the Vale of Leven—published on the day before the election and therefore incapable of being refuted, proved the real factor in the defeat.' Mrs. Robertson Cameron gives a further reason: 'My father always said it was because the men could not be got to understand the secrecy of the ballot, and were afraid to vote against their Tory employers.'

Lady Helen Munro-Ferguson wrote: 'I thought you made the best "defeated" speech of the election.' A newspaper mentioned the 'regret heard yesterday as Captain Sinclair's defeat was posted in the Carlton and Junior Carlton Clubs; for he is a gentlemanly pleasant fellow who cannot be much of a Radical at heart'. Mrs. Gladstone sent sympathy from Mr. Gladstone and herself, and hoped Sinclair would come to Hawarden; afterwards Mr. Gladstone wrote to Lady Aberdeen in Canada: 'Captain Sinclair paid us a too short visit; I find him universally and deservedly beloved.' Sinclair also stayed at Dalmeny: when inviting him there Lord Rosebery said: 'It is with real distress that I heard of your defeat, and I remembered our talk in Rotten Row. If we had a hundred men like you I should not fear the whole host of the Amalekites!' Campbell-Bannerman wrote: 'I did not write or wire the other day when we were all weeping over you in Glasgow, for I am not sure that messages of condolence do not at the time increase the bitterness. You know that every one laments your defeat and those who know you best will do so the most. You did all that mortal could do, but you fall a victim to the general *bouleversement*. All our fellows will miss you sorely in the H. of C., the two ex-law officers were loud about it.... My wife is most pressing that I should convey her kindest regards and sympathy.' Mr. G. W. E. Russell sent this line: 'I

grieve for this more than anything that has happened. Consolations are R O T.'

As this defeat left Sinclair free in the meantime, Lord Aberdeen, who had been appointed Governor-General of Canada in 1893, urged him to accept the post of Governor-General's Secretary. So Sinclair arrived in Ottawa on a visit at Christmas 1895, and wrote to Henry Drummond on 22nd January 1896: 'I have agreed to stay temporarily: what remains is to try hard to turn this time to good account for Their Exs.' work here. February 12: Lord R. [osebery] wrote to me about our newspaper schemes and other plans: his letter was one I was v. glad to get. I only hope I may not be severely left alone or wigged for not coming back to do some work in Scotland; but I have written to Ronald.' As usual he did turn the time to good account for those with whom he worked. And as he moved about with the Governor-General through the scenes of a Canadian year, he took every chance of studying for himself the various methods of developing agriculture and education which were being tried in different parts of the Dominion, besides fully enjoying all the natural beauty and the sport supplied in turn by every place and season.

At the Canadian General Election in July, the Conservative Government was defeated by the Liberals. So Lord Aberdeen would not assent to the retiring Prime Minister's proposal to fill vacant appointments with Conservatives. Lady Aberdeen wrote in her journal: July 4: 'On 24th June, the day after the election, Mr. Laurier telephoned to Captain Sinclair to say he would like to come to see him, and the object of the visit was to say he felt it would be a great injustice to the Liberal party if any Senators and judges were appointed by the retiring Government . . . Captain S. worked at a draft for a letter on the whole position . . . turning it into an official Memo and greatly improving it. The value of

his judgment, clear headedness and firmness is beyond words. It is difficult to see how we could have got through this time without him.' So when a few months later, in December 1896, a summons reached Sinclair, then snowbound with the Governor-General's train in the Rocky Mountains, asking him to return home and contest a by-election in Forfarshire, it seemed at first impossible that he could be spared. Lady Aberdeen's journal says that as they were short-handed on the staff and were faced with new Ministers and new Bills, the tariff and copyright and other questions: 'When Novar's two telegrams came we reluctantly assented that Captain S. could only say No. A week later came a cable from Sir H. C.-B. saying he must come unless absolutely debarred and with him prospects were good. Again after much agony he answered he must decline. Yet another answer from C.-B. and showers of cables and orders from Teddy [Lord Tweedmouth], Novar, the Forfarshire Committee, the Dumbartonshire people and Lord Overtoun. The final word was that it was essential for the party: "he was the only man who could save the seat." So he went on Christmas Day. The politicians, officials and staff are full of regrets. Laurier asked Capt. S. to see Mr. Chamberlain about the Manitoba School Question and put the whole position to him.'

One of the Dominion Ministers remarked on the advantage it had been to have a Governor-General's Secretary of the calibre and capacity of Captain Sinclair.

Mr. Ronald Ferguson (now Viscount Novar), the Scottish Liberal Whip, wrote to Sir H. C.-B. on 13th December 1896: 'I have cabled Aberdeen that it may go hard with us if S. refuses. Of course we want S. back; he is the best man in our party. It really looks as if we should lose the seat without him and we badly want him as ane o' oorsels.' Sinclair wrote to Drummond on 18th December: 'After having refused to stand

for Forfarshire, A. and I have been so bullied and bombarded and on such grounds that I sail December 26.' Newspaper reporters went to meet him at Queenstown and Liverpool but, 'though the Captain has a very pleasant style about him even in refusing a request, it was evident that he is very diplomatic and was not to be drawn.' 'Now really, my dear fellow, I cannot proceed on that tack. There is nothing to communicate, I assure you,' he said. The prospect of success was not bright; the Conservatives had an excellent and popular local candidate in Major the Hon. C. M. Ramsay (uncle of the young Lord Dalhousie), who had won the seat at a by-election in 1894, and who had got a long start while the Liberals had been trying to secure a candidate. Indeed, a Scotch Liberal member was reported to have said 'that Captain Sinclair was a fool to quit a delightful time and a good berth in Canada for a sure certainty of defeat'.

However, on 10th January 1897, Sinclair writes to Drummond from Forfarshire: 'The scrimmage has fairly begun, and the experts are instilling wisdom into my cranium. Nobody could have had more help. Our first meeting was at Kirrie.' This first meeting was a test of the long-looked-for candidate. The 'Thrums' weavers had always been keen critics, just as they are described in *The Little Minister*. A newspaper correspondent wrote: 'As one knight of the shuttle in Kirriemuir expressed it, "he has been sae weel spoken o' that it will be a fashious job for him tae leeve up tae it".' It was on the evening of the yearly ploughing match, and the hall was filled with over a thousand arbiters learned in all points of political law and doctrine. They approved; '"he'll do", was the emphatic verdict of a grey-haired politician as he moved slowly out of the hall,' wrote another reporter. 'He has a kind of magnetism'; 'He was almost idolized,' constituents said later

of the feeling that grew up towards him. At one meeting a supporter declared that Captain Sinclair had 'these three grand qualities which go to make up a first-class candidate, and which are only found in the superlative degree in a Scotsman—namely, grit, smeddum [mettle], and rumble-gumption'. They were needed in a campaign where in three weeks each candidate addressed fully sixty meetings, in a county of over half a million acres, with glens running far up into the mountains, in a January of Arctic frost and snow. And, inconceivable to the present generation, not in motor-cars, but jogging along behind a pair of horses, for many miles on freezing nights. Another 'machine' followed with the unlucky pressmen, who had to arrive with the candidate at each school and hall in order to report verbatim not the speeches, but the 'Severe and Prolonged Heckling' which made the headline for several entertaining columns next day. After the heckling came the vote of confidence, and usually an amendment: At one meeting: Chairman, 'Up hands for the amendment: Six.' A voice, 'Seven'; another voice: 'You are haudin' up twa hands.'

Ex-Bailie Lamond, then of Broughty Ferry, writes: 'As to that famous Forfarshire election, Captain Sinclair asked me if I would help him. I said I would be delighted, and asked if he was ready. "Right," he said; and out we went. I led the way to the Lifeboat shed where a lot of fishermen were assembled. "Wha's this ye hae, Bailie?" asked the Coxswain, and I said "An awfie nice gentleman who's come to beat the Hon. Charles Maule Ramsay." "No' Captain Sinclair?" asked the Coxswain. "Aye, it's Captain Sinclair," I said; "and are ye gaun tae gie him a bit haund tae win?" "Of course I am," he said, and throwing off his jacket he exclaimed, "we'll just begin here and now. Come on, lads, we're a' for Captain Sinclair," and they raised a cheer. The Captain said after such a fine start he had

no fear of the result. And after a strenuous campaign he got it all right, and it was considered a big thing to beat the Hon. Maule Ramsay at that time. I remember on the day of the poll in Broughty I went down amongst the fishermen and the whole crowd followed me to the booth like a flock of sheep, and though the Tory canvassers attacked them right and left the only reply they got was "Go away, we are all to vote for Captain Sinclair". One of the canvassers said, "Look here, Lamond, I have been down amongst the fishermen for over a week and have not got half-a-dozen votes. For the first time in my life I have completely failed. Sinclair seems to have hypnotized them almost to a man." When the result of the contest was announced at Broughty Ferry, from a scaffolding 12 feet high erected in front of a bookseller's shop, there was an immense crowd and I never in my life saw such delight among the winners and chagrin among the losers. Our men threw their bonnets and jackets in the air and cried themselves hoarse. When things got a wee quiet a Tory lady screamed at the top of her voice, pointing at me on the scaffold, "shoot him! shoot him." In the twinkling of an eye she was seized by the shoulders and rushed down a close and was not seen again for a long time. I am so sorry that I have forgotten many interesting events that happened during that election; it is so long ago and I am so old. It was always a great treat to watch the Captain when attacked by his opponents. He stood firm as a rock, never lost his temper, calm, cool, courteous, and won many votes with his quaint, genial, happy smile, so well known to his many friends. During these many long years I have thought of Lord Pentland, he has come to me in many a vision

Not to dwarf me by his stature
But to show
To what bigness I may grow..

That loving voice has ceased, life's fight has closed in victory. I can't understand why I am left behind. Away yonder in heaven's eternal morning we will see all things in their right proportion and their right colour. I should so love to read Lord Pentland's reminiscences.'

Mr. Alexander Mackay, C.A., J.P., well known for his interest in public affairs and at that time member of the Forfarshire Liberal Committee, writes: 'I remember in the Good Templar Hall in Broughty Ferry Lord Pentland addressing a very crowded meeting. Excitement was high, I think over the Irish question, and the air was highly electrical. When the period for questions arrived, a well-dressed man stalked up to the platform, and turning to the audience said: "I propose asking Captain Sinclair a question and I want him to answer the question 'yes' or 'no'." The tone of the remark was very aggressive and the suggestion was that Captain Sinclair was not prepared to give the answer required except by way of explanation. Captain Sinclair was very cool while the audience, expecting a row, became still more excited. Turning to the audience Captain Sinclair said: "This gentleman expects me to answer his unknown question with a simple 'yes' or 'no', but there are questions which cannot be answered by 'yes' or 'no'." The questioner broke in with the remark: "There are no questions which cannot be answered by 'yes' or 'no'." "Well," said Captain Sinclair, "if this gentleman answers a question which I put to him with the simple 'yes' or 'no' I shall be prepared to answer his question in the same way. Now my question has no personal application because I know nothing about the domestic affairs of the gentleman. I simply ask him 'has he left off beating his wife?'" There was a roar from the audience and a ghastly smile on the face of the questioner. It took him a very short time to see how he would be committed to the beating whether he

answered "yes" or "no", so he did the only thing possible —slink back to his seat without putting his question, to the great delight of the listeners. Captain Sinclair was a standing example of the influence of personality recognized as soon as he appeared before an audience. I cannot recall a single remark from one of his opponents which ever challenged his fairness.'

Sir H. C.-B., writing to Sir William Harcourt on 30th January, the day of the poll, remarks: 'It is a most critical election; if we lost it the party in Scotland would be knocked out of time.' The *Observer* said: 'Never in the history of a Scottish contest has there been so much interest aroused.' The *Scotsman* hoped 'Captain Sinclair would be able to return to the pleasant land he was so unwilling to leave in time to enjoy its winter pastimes'. For the Liberals especially, who had fewer vehicles, much depended on the weather of the polling day; when it came, as the *Daily Chronicle* said, 'Unfortunately the weather conditions were most unpropitious. From an early hour snow began to fall, and continued almost incessantly until the poll closed in the evening; this rendered the roads in many districts in a fearful state. It was feared the weather would have an unfavourable influence on the poll; but so great was the interest taken in the election however, that Saturday's poll is considered a record one, and it says much for the working man voter that he should have put himself to so much discomfort to record his vote.' In fact, 90 per cent. of the electors voted; at Inverarity 202 out of 213, at Glamis 333 out of 383, at Kirriemuir 1,023 out of 1,184 and so on; and there was great excitement when the figures were declared:

Sinclair (L.)	5,423
Ramsay (C.)	4,965
<hr/>	
Liberal majority	458

In thanking the electors, Sinclair said he was proud to have been associated with them in so honourable a battle, 'and if I am to add one word of regret it will be this, that I have involved the defeat of so friendly and so honourable an opponent.'

Naturally Liberals rejoiced over the hopeful result of the by-election. The *Manchester Guardian* said: 'That a young and comparatively unknown man in the constituency should leave Canada and within five weeks carry the seat in face of most powerful territorial influence and a long-continued wooing of the electors by the Unionist candidate, says much for the virility of the Liberalism of Forfarshire. To the last moment the hopes of the Unionists were of the most sanguine order, and besides the satisfaction of having won a victory, Liberals in the House of Commons are delighted to have Captain Sinclair in their midst again, as he was one of the most popular members of the late Parliament. Some men seem to have a moral charm about them and Captain Sinclair is one of these.' Even the Conservative *Globe* conceded that 'we are not sorry that the Radical party should be leavened with a few men like Captain Sinclair'. So on 4th February 1897, he took his seat again in the House of Commons, introduced by Mr. John Morley and Mr. Ronald Munro-Ferguson. A Press Gallery reporter described his appearance thus: 'exactly a braw Scot, alert, straight, well-groomed, with a touch of the light dragoon about him.'

On 18th February Sinclair wrote to Henry Drummond from 101 Mount Street: 'I am very much distressed to find that my coming to you on Sunday is impossible again this week, for I am again dragged down to Scotland for three meetings—awful. [One of these was a dinner of congratulation to him at the Scottish Liberal Club, which was the first party dinner in connection with the Club since the Home Rule split in 1886.]

Happily that finishes the meetings: and I rather feel as if it would probably finish me too. Please look at the pictures in this [*Uncle Remus*]; I bought it at a railway station this morning. Isn't Brer Rabbit glorious—and the Tar Baby! Immortal! At this time Professor Drummond was lying very ill at Tunbridge Wells. Sinclair went down to see him as often as he could, and on 5th March, when he had to go to Canada for a month to hand over his official duties there, he wrote: 'I trust that the Sunday after Easter Sunday, i.e. April 25, may find me cracking away to you once more.' But on 11th March 1898, Drummond died, while Sinclair was on his way across the Atlantic, and the friendship which had meant so much to them both was at an end.

On 19th May 1898, Mr. Gladstone died, and in June the Gladstone National Memorial Fund Committee, composed of the most prominent men in all parties and professions, met at Grosvenor House. H.R.H. the Prince of Wales consented to be the President of the Fund; the Duke of Westminster was appointed Chairman, and Captain Sinclair, M.P., Honorary Secretary. Some of the letters he wrote show the time and care he spent in planning and attending meetings for the Fund all over Great Britain, in consulting with sculptors over the statues, and in carrying out the other objects. Altogether the sum of £33,588 11s. 3d. was given, and increased by interest to £42,000. It was spent on building St. Deiniol's Library at Hawarden, in the foundation of an Oxford professorship, and in erecting three statues; one by Mr. Hamo Thornycroft, R.A., in the Strand, unveiled by Mr. Morley in 1905; one by Mr. Pittendrigh MacGillivray, R.S.A., LL.D., in St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh, unveiled by Lord Rosebery in 1917; one by Mr. Hughes, which was originally intended for Dublin, and was then put up at Hawarden.

III

IN OPPOSITION

A PRIVATE member of Parliament can be thoroughly active and useful when his party is in opposition, and while the Conservatives were entrenched in office for ten years, with Lord Salisbury as Prime Minister from 1895 to 1902, and Mr. A. J. Balfour from 1902 to 1905, Sinclair applied himself both to current politics in general and to Scottish matters in particular. This was the best preparation he could have had for his duties of government later. It was also the best thing he could do for his party at the time. With Mr. T. R. Buchanan, and other friends, he pressed the Government pertinaciously with Parliamentary questions and criticisms, and at the same time made various constructive proposals. Sinclair spoke in the House on the Army, on Scottish Education, Agricultural Education, Public Health and Fisheries. He proposed an amendment to the Workmen's Compensation Act (1897) extending it to agricultural labourers; he introduced a Bill (1899) for the abolition of Petty Customs in Scotland; a Franchise Reform Bill (1900) enfranchising practically every workman over 21, including ploughmen; and a Bill (1900) providing education for half-timers. In 1899, along with Mr. Munro-Ferguson, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Crombie, he brought in a Small Tenants (Scotland) Bill by which any tenant of a farm of less annual value than £50 might obtain a valued rent for seven years and security of tenure,

with compensation for improvements. He spent every autumn recess exchanging views with his Forfarshire constituents at a series of about thirty meetings, and on his way across the Border was often for a day or two with his brother at Grahamslaw, Roxburgh, one time 'eel-spearing in the Kale Water and Oxnam Water, but the water too drummlie'.

In these years Liberal members found that the duty of opposing the Government was not so difficult as that of agreeing together within their own ranks. None of Mr. Gladstone's lieutenants had inherited his authority, and their opinions often differed. The allegiance of their followers was also divided both as to leaders and policies. In 1896, when Mr. Gladstone came out from his retirement to champion the Armenians against Turkey, Lord Rosebery, who was definitely Imperialist in foreign affairs, explained that he could not take Mr. Gladstone's view, and resigned from the leadership of the Liberal party. Sir William Harcourt continued to be leader of the Liberals in the House of Commons, and took the non-Imperialist line.

Lord Rosebery's personal charm, his brilliant gifts, his knowledge and love of Scotland, of course appealed to Sinclair very strongly, and he fully appreciated the privilege of being included in the circle of Lord Rosebery's friends. On a visit to him at Dalmeny Sinclair wrote in his diary:

'30 September, 1898. Dalmeny: Drove to and from the Caledonian Hunt Ball with Rosebery: talked politics, Disestablishment . . . Growth of tolerance, or indifference. Less church-going, more real religion, among younger men in Scotland? He thought Mr. G.'s example must have been powerful in this respect. When I suggested that the Free and U.P. efforts towards Union were the chief cause of the temporary suspension of

outward effort toward Disestablishment, he said nothing. Imperialism . . . he pointed out that there is distinct line of cleavage in Liberal ranks, instancing Harcourt and Morley. I asked whether a distinction between Imperialism and Jingoism, and a criticism based on unreasonable expenditure, might not bring people together. One man, one vote, he instanced as a strong position. Asked about E. Grey, Lloyd George, Haldane, Robson, in H. of C. He thought we could hardly hope for Irish co-operation: the alternative is to work to unite all real Liberals. Haldane talked about (Irish) Catholic University, urging that the proposal should be brought forward by a private member and that tho' it will be opposed at first, opposition will be overcome.'

In the Fashoda crisis of 1898 Lord Rosebery's adherents had supported the Government's discountenance of the French expedition in Egypt. Soon afterwards, in December 1898, Sir William Harcourt published a letter to Mr. John Morley in which he resigned from the leadership of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, because it was 'rent by sectional disputes and personal interests'. Mr. Morley's answer expressed approval, and he promised to come and explain his position to his constituents at Brechin on 17th January 1899. Sinclair took the chair at this meeting, and Mr. Morley wrote to him beforehand:

'57 Elm Park Gdns. 14.1.99.

'I am grieved that circ.^{es} have brought you into a position which will be more interesting than agreeable perhaps. But you won't be compromised by the black sheep who follows you. Of course my discourse will be an apologia to some extent of W.V.H. and self. I'll give no offence, be sure. I want to be *up* as soon as I can, as I hear alarming stories of reporters etc.'

In his speech Mr. Morley said that he saw the party being infected with a dangerous foreign policy, and that he could no longer take an active and responsible part in Liberal counsels. Sinclair wrote in his diary of their talk after the meeting:

'Jan. 17, 1899. At Bearshill, Brechin, with Mr. Duke; . . . John Morley told me about the origin and progress of the Harcourt-Morley letters. He urged Harcourt to excise the objectionable paragraphs, many of which were so excised, also to stay in Parliament, and not to resign his seat. Complained bitterly of his own being ignored in correspondence now going on with reference to leadership, and foretold further divergence and separation. An instance of last sessions difficulties—John Ellis moved a motion about Soudan or Egypt: had asked J.M. to speak: J.M. said he would. During debate, J.M. told Harcourt. Harcourt said for any sake don't, here is Grey on my other side, he is going to speak, and there will be a difference. J.M. said, very well then: but if I don't, Grey must not. That was agreed.'

'Jan. 18, 1899: Ashbrook, Arbroath, F. Webster's. After dinner we discussed the Soudan. Was it the view of the Liberal party in 1885, or was it not, that Egypt should be held without the Soudan? Was Penjdeh etc., [the fear of a rupture with Russia over the Afghanistan boundary] the sole cause of withdrawl then, as Rosebery maintains, and the Duke of Devonshire is with him. Afterwards I urged and pressed Morley to go to Belmont [to see Sir H. C.-B.] on his way South. He said No, I am inexorable.'

On the 20th January Sinclair was again with Lord Rosebery, in Edinburgh, at a dinner of the In Loco Club (named from *Dulce est desipere in loco*).

In the Memoir of the late Earl of Minto by Mr. John

Buchan, Lord Minto describes in his journal another dinner of the Club, in 1895:

'To Edinburgh and dined at the In Loco Club, a creation of Rosebery's. 13 at dinner: Rosebery, Robertson (the Lord President), Balfour (ex-Lord Advocate), Darling, George Baird, Ronald Ferguson, Sir H. Dalrymple, Andy Wauchope, Professor Butcher, Lamington, Donald Crawford, Sinclair (I think the Radical brother of Sinclair of Grahamslaw) and myself. A pleasant dinner. As honorary members several defunct historical personages were proposed, amongst them John Knox. I voted against him, but he was elected.'

Back in London on the 28th January 1899, Sinclair writes in his diary: 'General unanimity as to H. C.-B.'s leadership.' This refers to the discussions before the meeting at the Reform Club on 6th February, where Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was elected leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons. Here was the man who could command 'general unanimity'. The words express relief: and indeed Sinclair had been doing all he could before the meeting towards this result.

When the Government had resigned in 1895, Campbell-Bannerman had sent Sinclair a tiepin 'to remind you of our War Office days', and went on: 'I need not add how pleasant it has been for me to have your help for these three years, for which I am sincerely obliged to you, and I hope that our friendly relations will not diminish but rather increase in intimacy now that we have more time to do as we like!' So when Sinclair came back to Parliament in 1897, Sir Henry was glad to get his help again in an informal way, and when he went abroad, he sent Sinclair large envelopes full of correspondence to be dealt with. For instance, he writes from Kissingen in July 1898: 'You acted with your usual judgment in sending on the rampagious Provost's

letter;’ and from Salzburg in October, ‘I cannot tell you how much you have obliged me in attending to my constituents’ letters.’ On 10th September 1899, ‘I enclose this bundle: *fais en ce que veux, et ce qu’elles valent.*’ In other matters, too, Campbell-Bannerman relied more and more on Sinclair, who shared his aims and aversions in politics, his taste for foreign travel and literature, his Scottish upbringing and point of view. Sinclair returned this confidence by serving ‘C.-B.’ with all the thoroughness of which he was capable. But he obliterated himself as far as possible, and few realized the part he played. Indeed, he was constantly declining the pressing offers of kindness and hospitality he received from these and other friends, for Sinclair was always by nature what he called, in allusion to Canadian days, ‘an independent tobogganer’. Sir H. C.-B. acknowledged the degree of his help when a few years later he said to one of Sinclair’s relatives: ‘If it had not been for your cousin’s unceasing efforts and work on my behalf I should not be leader of the party.’

On 10th August 1899 Sir H. C.-B. wrote to Sinclair from Marienbad that he had seen ‘a most interesting letter from Hofmeyr: in which he expresses great anxiety about the new talk on the part of the Jingoes of “guarantees”, wh. might imply such an inroad on the independence of the Boers as they could not stand. Thereupon war, in which the Free State and ultimately “our Cape farmers” would take part. Just the sort of thing we have been saying.’ These fears were justified: on 9th October the Transvaal Executive sent their ultimatum and ‘thereupon war’. Campbell-Bannerman supported Her Majesty’s Government in everything that might secure the effective prosecution of the war, but he criticized the course they had taken beforehand. To this position, however, some of those who had elected Campbell-Bannerman leader of the party did not choose to follow

him, and often they spoke and voted against him. It was now that 'unceasing efforts and work on his behalf' were needed. Distinctions became differences, and in 1900 the Liberal Imperialist Council was formed to maintain the views held by Lord Rosebery and his group. In September 1900 the Conservatives dissolved Parliament, and won the 'khaki' election on the plea that the war was practically finished, and that the Government should be responsible for the settlement in South Africa. When a general election seemed likely, Sir H. C.-B. wrote to Sinclair from Marienbad asking him to 'send one or two models of election addresses, which would give an idea of length and of form as well'. On the 29th August Sinclair went off to Marienbad and, as Mr. J. A. Spender says in his *Life of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman*, 'the next days were occupied in preparing the speech and drawing up the address to his constituents which was to be his manifesto to the country'.

In this contest Mr. John Morley was not able to go up to his constituency, the Montrose Burghs, owing to his health.

He wrote from Hindhead, 24th September 1900: 'My dear Sinclair, It was most kind of you to write to me. It is horrible to me to be muzzled in this way, at such a moment. However, I have no choice. . . . When you have a minute to spare, which you never have, drop me a single line, a word, half a word, to say whether they are going to *run us close?*' And again on 1st October: 'What a good fellow you are to write to your exiled friend. Without affectation, I take as lively an interest in your election as our own. Your speeches have been really excellent. I had a very kind note from C.-B. yesterday, for which I have a sort of feel that I am indebted to you. I have told him that as for speaking, he must do what he thinks best, but as yours is said to be more insecure a seat than the Burghs, he

will naturally look to you, though on the other hand the splendid conduct of the gallant men in the Burghs deserves effective recognition. Good-bye; I often think of you all.' In the Montrose Burghs result Mr. Morley's majority was reduced from 1,900 to 1,570:

Morley (L.)	3,960
Don (L.U.)	2,390

At the general election the Conservatives increased their majority in the House from 130 to 134, but in spite of their hopes they did not capture Forfarshire. The figures were:

Captain J. Sinclair	(L.)	4,962
Major Hon. C. M. Ramsay	(C.)	<u>4,714</u>
Liberal majority		<u>248</u>

Mr. John Young, J.P., writes: 'Mr. Ramsay's third defeat in 1900 was a very sore blow, and I thought it was nice and characteristic of Captain Sinclair that when the window was opened and the two candidates had to appear on the balcony he let Mr. Ramsay out first. It was only after their exchange of places on the balcony that the crowd understood who was in.' Mr. R. C. Munro-Ferguson wrote: 'I congratulate you most heartily . . . it was a very uphill fight and you came thro' it in the most gallant way . . . quite one of the most notable incidents of the election.'

Mr. Munro-Ferguson was one of the most pronounced Liberal Imperialists, and after the election he resigned from the office of Scottish Liberal Whip; who was to follow him in this difficult position? Sinclair wrote to a friend: 'This abominable whip business is coming on, I can see. . . . I would give much to avoid it . . . but the appeal is: who can if you will not—you cannot refuse to help. That will be it, depend upon it.' That

was it; Sinclair was appointed to succeed Mr. Munro-Ferguson, who invited him to come and stay at Raith to be posted up in the Whip's work. Sinclair wrote: 'I came away from Raith thinking more than ever of Ronald.'

Sinclair's intimate and much valued friend Rt. Hon. T. R. Buchanan, M.P., wrote: 'I should regret to see you tied to the official wheel. But no one else can do the work and C.-B. will hardly go on if you don't. Labby told me that he had always advised C.-B. to put you in.' When Parliament met in 1901 Sinclair began his duties by giving the first of his dinners to Scottish Liberal members and candidates, which he continued every year until he went to India in 1912. In June 1899 he had written to Mr. (later Sir) Francis Webster, one of his leading Forfarshire friends: 'Wider consideration of the value of getting together as a party is what will ultimately free us from all personal difficulties.' Leaders and followers, candidates and constituencies, all needed 'getting together as a party', and from 1900 to 1905 this was the whole purpose of Sinclair's efforts as Scottish Whip, though it was not easy to attain. He had constantly to be adjusting and persuading and restraining; in the Lobby, in London clubs and houses, in visits to Liberal head-quarters at Edinburgh and Glasgow, and to local associations all over Scotland. After a speech by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in March of this year, he writes: 'The C.-B. speech was courageous and good. He deserves more than most people will ever know or dream of, and much more than they can ever give, or even see.' Liberal dissensions went on throughout 1901; for instance, in June, when Sir H. C.-B., three days after his 'methods of barbarism' speech, supported Mr. Lloyd George's motion in the House calling attention to concentration camps, nearly fifty Liberals walked out before the

division, including Mr. Asquith, Mr. Haldane and Sir Edward Grey. In fact this year saw the height of that party spirit described by the small daughter of an M.P. as 'the feeling you have for members of your own party'.

Naturally it was not very easy for Sinclair to get his big guns into action for the autumn speech-making; Lord Rosebery wrote on 2nd August 1901: 'I am afraid I am not orthodox enough to mingle with the elect—much less to address them!' Mr. Augustine Birrell said, writing from Sheringham, 14th August 1901:

'Your letter made me start—Mount Street on the 12th of August! But for the grace of God there would go A.B. I do not think that I shall cross the Tweed this year. I hope to spend October in Rome where I have never been, much to the chagrin of my old school friends, J. Cæsar and M. T. Cicero. In November I suppose I shall, unless the Pope offers me a permanent post about the Vatican, be once more picking up an occasional brief or two in the (so called) Courts of Justice. In the meantime I am bathing in the German Ocean, correcting proofs of a new volume of Essays, to bear the original title of *Miscellanies*, and have to-day written the first chapter of a Life of William Hazlitt, a very considerable blackguard indeed. So that I'm afraid I'm no good to you my dear *Sisyphus*.

I'm wae to think upon yon den,
E'en for your sake!

Politics are not so inviting to plunge into just now as the North Sea, tho' if I could only drown $\frac{1}{2}$ a dozen *Leaders* therein, they would be as pleasant as ever.

Yours

The Escaped Slave.'

Sir Robert Reid, afterwards Earl Loreburn, wrote from Kingsdown, 6th September 1901: 'I hear from Dumfries

that you want Asquith to have a meeting there and that the people there objected . . . sure you have done what is best but what induced you to think of Asquith . . . why I should have great difficulty in going on a platform with him myself. . . . Could you not come here?' And Sir Robert Reid wrote again on 9th November: 'I am not saying I will come and speak as a personal favour to you, of which you seem to be apprehensive . . . but I hope I may add that I do so all the more willingly that the person who asks me is yourself. I am afraid the Liberal Imps mean to split.' On the other hand, Mr. Asquith wrote from North Berwick on 10th October 1901: 'I deeply regret the temper of suspiciousness which seems at present to infect some sections of our party and I am sure that, as whip, you do all in your power to repress and check it. But it bodes ill for the future.'

The undercurrents of the time are reflected in Sir H. C.-B.'s letters to Sinclair. Writing from Marienbad on 14th September 1901, he says:

'I think you are quite right about our two great men; I will write suitably both to W.V.H. and J.M. Not alliance but co-operation. . . .

'15th September. What you say of Asquith's view is very significant: once you begin to diverge it soon becomes a wide separation. . . . I feel that you are very much in solitude: I am sufficiently alone, but you are for the moment doing it all even without me.'

'21st September, 1901. It is mutiny and enmity now just as much as before. . . . I have received your list of guests and we will try to fit some of them in.'

'5th October, 1901. I doubt altogether whether anything is gained by trying to be friendly with those gentry. . . . I have a long letter from Spencer, altogether condemning Asquith's repudiation of the Irish.'

'7th December, 1901. Your budget with hints for speech—many thanks. Never pray hesitate to what you call bother me: rather help and interest: there cannot be too much of it.'

In December 1901, says Mr. Spender, in his *Life of Campbell-Bannerman*, the differences of the Liberal leaders seemed wider than at any moment since the beginning of the war. At Chesterfield Lord Rosebery supported the Liberal plea for a negotiated peace in South Africa, but advised Liberals to clean their slate, and Sir H. C.-B. wrote to Sinclair next day, 17th December: 'It leaves things no better than before: the same mystery, the same underground enmity, the same unsettled uncomfortable position.' But Campbell-Bannerman wanted to make it clear that he was willing to act with or under Lord Rosebery so long as Liberal principles did not suffer. So he asked for a talk and went to lunch with Lord Rosebery on 23rd December. On his return home he dictated to Sinclair an account of what took place, which states that he directly invited Lord Rosebery to come back and co-operate, and that Lord Rosebery declined to rejoin the party or come into consultation, as 'I am not of your communion'. The newspapers published accounts of the interview which differed according as they had been received through friends of Lord Rosebery or of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman; and at the Reform Club Sir T. Wemyss Reid read to Sinclair a letter written to himself by Lord Rosebery, which indicated that the interview was informal and that no overtures were made. As Sinclair comments in his diary, 'the difficulty may turn on the sense in which "overtures" is used'; and the incident shows again how easy it is for two people to gather different meaning from the same words.

From his diary Sinclair seems to have spent these

weeks conferring with all the 'ex-Cab.' ministers; his own view, in which Mr. Morley agreed, was 'that C.-B. should avoid even the appearance of wishing to exclude anybody, and call upon everybody to rally to the party and press upon the Government those essentials of a Liberal South African policy upon which the whole party seems now to be agreed'. Sir H. C.-B. was to speak for the first time since Lord Rosebery's speech at Chesterfield at St. James's Hall on 13th January 1902. Lord Tweedmouth wrote to Sinclair:

'23 Dec. '01.

'I don't like the prospect of the St. J. Hall meeting . . . the only thing wd be an announcement of a working agreement between CB and R. I fear that is impossible. I'm sure you'll be doing good business for all of us (most of all for Spencer and CB) if you can find a way out of or round it.'

On the other hand, a letter from Mr. William Webster, Secretary of the Scottish Liberal Association, said:

'3 Jan. 1902.

'May I venture to express the hope that firmness and determination to stick to the policy he has lately defined will be clearly set forth by Sir H. on the 13th. It is felt here by a large number of Liberals that he only requires to stick to his guns to gain and retain the best of the party. There is no enthusiasm for the Chesterfield speech.'

In his diary Sinclair writes: 'C.-B.'s speech will I think be all right,' and in his *Life* Mr. Spender says the speech was both ingenious and conciliatory.

At a meeting of the 'Shadow' Liberal Cabinet they agreed on an amendment to the Address which criticized the attitude of the Government with regard to a settle-

ment. But in the division, on 21st January 1902, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Haldane and Sir Edward Grey withdrew their support from the amendment to which they had agreed, and walked out of the division, on the ground that they were satisfied by Lord Salisbury's speech in the House of Lords. For opposite reasons, Mr. Lloyd George also walked out of the division, with the more important members of the left wing. Ireland became a fresh source of division; Sir H. C.-B. declared he was as strongly as ever in favour of giving self-government to Ireland. Lord Rosebery definitely abandoned Home Rule, and in February 1902 he became President of the Liberal League, which had been evolved from the Liberal Imperialist Council; Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey and Sir Henry Fowler agreed to be Vice-Presidents.

But at last the ill wind of discord arose in another quarter. In 1903, as Sinclair put it in his article on Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 'the healing of internal differences among the Liberals was greatly facilitated by the perplexity and division which Mr. Chamberlain's announcement at Birmingham of his new fiscal programme (May 1903) created in the Unionist ranks'. Sinclair himself was a vigorous champion of Free Trade in his constituency and elsewhere. For years he had been on the Cobden Club Committee; he was fully equipped with facts and arguments, and he had an ardent faith in the foundation of justice on which Free Trade rests.

Sinclair's advice to others throughout these years may be illustrated by a passage from a speech he made at Castle Douglas in 1903: 'Don't believe all you hear about divisions in the Liberal party. The Liberal party is not a tyranny; it is a party in which are represented all shades and diversities of Liberal opinion. Don't believe it when you hear it said the Liberal party cannot form a Government; let it try. A good motto for Liberals

at this time is: "In things essential unity, in things doubtful liberty, in all things charity." At such times of tension those who help must be able to hold firm too; Sinclair's own example was observed by Mr. Vaughan Nash thus:

'Owing to a war crisis on the *Daily Chronicle*, I was a journalist in search of work when one day, at the end, I think of 1899, Sinclair wrote to say that he thought he knew of a piece of work that I might undertake—would I come and talk it over. Nothing happened at the moment as the *Manchester Guardian* had just ordered me to India to report upon the famine and I heard no more until late the following year, when to my delight he told me that the post was still open, and I became a part-time devil to Campbell-Bannerman, then leader of the Opposition. During the following years when I was so engaged I naturally saw a good deal of him as Campbell-Bannerman's trusted and devoted lieutenant, and there were many opportunities in those sombre days for noting the metal he was made of, his gallant and pertinacious spirit, his indomitable stubbornness, his serene hold on his inward source of strength.'

It was to Mr. Vaughan Nash that Sinclair owed the treat of an afternoon with George Meredith. Sinclair writes in his diary for 4th August 1901:

'Bicycled from Hyde Farm, Headley, with Vaughan Nash to see George Meredith, who lives near Box Hill in a rather gloomy-looking little house, old-fashioned, square, lying against a well-wooded hill at the foot of a narrow valley. In front of the house there is an oval of well-kept turf upon which are a few small beds of geraniums. A high trim box hedge encloses it from the house to the gate opposite, which opens on the public road. He was sitting in a little hay field beyond the

garden, and though he had had a bad week, a "premonitory tap" as he called it, he was glad to see us. While our names were sent to him—Nash knows him—we waited in his rather poky but cosy little study, the chairs and tables heaped with books, and on the mantelpiece and on one table, many photographs and portraits, chiefly of women, amongst them one of Lady Granby. *The Sorrows of Werther*—in German—by his chair, and Murray's *Monthly Review*, which by the way he commended to us. He told us that his legs were quite paralysed, and that as he could not walk now, he had no pleasure in life for himself; he took pleasure in watching younger people. A lady wrote and asked him the other day how best she might make her life happy, what was his secret? His reply was: Take pleasure in the little things, the things of everyday, the sunshine, the clouds, the grass, the trees, the flowers: all living things, animals and men. The intelligence, he said, is everything. The heart is swayed by impulse: it is not to be trusted. He spoke of the war in S.A.—of the confidence of the Boers, before it broke out, as to the issue, founded on their having beaten us "offensively and defensively" in 1881. (Nash thought him even less Imperialist than when he saw him last.) He said that John Morley would never lead a party, if only because of his impatient and even desperate loathing of war, all war. H. W. Nevinson's *Plea of Pan* was "very meritorious". The Ladies' Page in the Saturday issue of the (London) daily papers was most degrading to them and generally objectionable. He talked affectionately of John Morley, and Leslie Stephen—and laughed over the latter's walks and talks. When we left, asked my name.'

Between 1897 and 1904 Sinclair took sixteen trips abroad, eight to Germany and Austria, six to France and

Belgium, one to Denmark and one to Italy; his interest always turned to foreign questions and our relations with other countries. He spent a month one winter in Berlin, and took walking tours in the Harz Mountains, Bohemia and the Tyrol with his friend Mr. George Saunders, *The Times* correspondent in Berlin and later in Paris. Some of these visits abroad were made in order to examine the systems of milk supply which had lately been started in Copenhagen, Stockholm and Berlin. In a paper on 'Milk Supply and the Public Health' which he read before the Dundee Social Union in 1901, Sinclair said: 'Some years ago it was my good fortune to be allowed to see the premises and processes of a Milk Supply Company. I was shown a ball of dirt as big as a lawn tennis ball—left in a filter through which one supply of fresh milk had passed. What I had seen—the ball of dirt in fact—set me to inquire about the milk supply; and then he gave the latest results about tuberculosis in people and cattle, and the methods of distributing milk in different towns abroad and in Great Britain. 'Improve your houses . . . and also see to the food of the people. The towns are the buyers, and the buyers can insist on conditions. It is from them that the impulse must come.'

These were the matters for which Sinclair cared; though he had to carry out his duties as a Whip, he soon escaped from personal discussions whether in public or in private, and passed on to his real interest of trying to get a thing done or to set a thing right. The city of Dundee, full of mills and mill-workers, had another problem in its overcrowded rooms and houses. Sinclair had learnt something about housing on the L.C.C., and had been watching the beginnings of garden cities and other housing reform in England. He now suggested that it would be useful if a few leading Dundee citizens went to see some of the experiments in the

South. This was before parties of peregrinators for all purposes had become so common as they are now, and the idea needed a great deal of working out. Sinclair advised about details, wrote to the authorities, and paid all the expenses liberally. The members of the party were a University professor, a doctor, a minister, a City Councillor, a Burgh Engineer, the Chairman of the Parish Council, the President of the Trades Council and the representative of a large Works; and in June 1903 they travelled round for a week, inspecting housing experiments by the Corporation of Liverpool, the garden city of Port Sunlight (founded 1890), housing experiments by the Corporation of Birmingham, and the garden city of Bournville (founded 1895). They wrote accounts of what they had seen which appeared under the heading. 'Captain Sinclair's Housing Reform Commission', in the *Dundee Advertiser* for July 1903. The Editor, Dr. (afterwards Sir) T. Carlaw Martin, LL.D., helped to organize the expedition, and this was only one of many occasions when his counsel and support were of the greatest value to Sinclair himself, and to the advance of enlightened opinion in Scotland.

With overcrowded towns went over-empty countrysides. Notes in his diary show that since 1890 Sinclair had been thinking about the land question and discussing solutions. Early in 1903, at some little country meetings in Forfarshire, he sounded a warning about the decay of rural life. He showed how in that county alone the country population had fallen by 2,973, though its towns and villages had increased by 9,320 in the last ten years; how emigration was rising, land going out of cultivation, cottages falling into ruins, food being imported from abroad. He explained plans designed to revive the prosperity of country districts, and help landlords, farmers and farm labourers. He described how he would reform the land laws and encourage

agricultural education and co-operation, and told about successful experiments in England and abroad. He said: 'An increase in the number of tenants of small holdings would provide more labour for the country districts, a healthier population, more customers for the manufacturer of the towns. We shall never increase the fertility of our country until we interest more people to work at it, and far beyond the other advantages to the country would be the increase in strength and numbers of a hardy and self-reliant population. It may be that we shall be compelled to devise some method of protecting small tenants in other parts of Scotland as they are protected in the Highlands by the Crofters Act. These questions require and deserve consideration at the hands of experienced practical men, and it is with that purpose in view that I have brought them before you to-night.' (Aberlemno, 7th March 1903.)

In order that 'experienced practical men' might see for themselves, Sinclair now applied his tourist method to the land question. *Farming in Denmark* says: 'Impressed by what had come under his eyes during a visit to Denmark, Captain John Sinclair, M.P. for Forfarshire, conceived the idea of organizing a party from his constituents to study, with the facts and the practice before them, the root-causes of Danish success.' The idea spread beyond Forfarshire and finally there were in the party thirty-five members, representing the Crofters Commission, the Congested Districts Board, the Highland Agricultural Society, the Scottish Chamber of Agriculture, the Agricultural Colleges, besides landlords, factors, grieves and well-known farmers from all parts of Scotland and of all shades of politics. Fortunately for the success of the visit, Mr. J. M. Hodge, J.P., a pioneer of small holdings and fruit-farming at Blairgowrie, consented to act as secretary and carry out the arrangements. They went to Denmark in June 1904, and met the warmest welcome

everywhere. The illustrated *Report of the Scottish Commission on Agriculture to Denmark, or Farming in Denmark*, describes the expedition and has chapters on education, land tenure, co-operation, agricultural credit, dairy, bacon and poultry industries. It was widely read and praised and nearly the whole edition of 5,500 copies was sold. Sinclair writes to Mr. Hodge:

‘6th July, 1904.

‘Let me have the estimate for doing the report thoroughly well . . . first-class paper and good type . . . I should hope it might be sold at say sixpence or a shilling . . . I think too we should contemplate a large distribution free or at less than cost price . . . Make it first-class in every way. There are still funds reserved for this purpose.’

The whole expenses of the trip were met by Sinclair, and came to nearly nine hundred pounds. In April 1905 he wrote to Mr. Hodge: ‘Have you ever thought of trying to arrange a visit to Ireland? As to the cost my impression is that we should not find it an insuperable obstacle.’ So in 1906 the Scottish farmers paid a visit to Ireland, in 1908 to Canada, in 1910 to Australia. Sinclair made the arrangements with the authorities each time, but the Governments and members of the party wished to share the expenses themselves. (See *Farming in Denmark*, 6d. *The Revival of Agriculture in Ireland*, 6d. *Farming in Canada*, 1s. *Australia, its Land Conditions and Prospects*, 1s. William Blackwood & Sons.)

‘There is an acute land question in the Highlands,’ Sinclair had said at his meetings, and the want of land in the Islands was causing constant trouble. In 1901 Barra cottars seized the island of Vatersay, and in 1902 the Congested Districts Board under Lord Balfour of Burleigh, then Secretary for Scotland, bought land there, besides the properties already purchased elsewhere for

crofter settlements. Sinclair wanted to see for himself, so he chartered the yacht *Kriemhilda* and sailed by way of Dublin, Rothesay, Oban, Tobermory, to the Outer Islands, where he visited the new C.D.B. settlements at Eoligarry, Barra; at Berneray, near Lochmaddy in North Uist; at Northton, Harris. He heard about the old days too, for instance of a farm in Skye which fifty years ago had a population of 2,000 and was now occupied by a farmer and a few farm servants. Some Whip's business was fitted in, and at Oban Mr. McKinnon Wood came aboard and agreed to stand for the by-election in Orkney. Sir H. C.-B. wrote to Sinclair from Marienbad, 28th August 1902:

‘The general tone of your letter and its appendices gave great satisfaction and acted like a tonic on my companion; was it this that gave the good night? You must be a very Mark Tapley with the Oban weather. Give my love to Benbecula when you pass her: but I am not sure I don’t prefer Maud and Kitty Brewster [places in Aberdeenshire] after all; less romantic but more comfortable.’

Kriemhilda’s skipper, Captain Robert Edwards, writes of this cruise:

‘In August week 1902, the yawl yacht *Kriemhilda* [106 tons] belonging to His Grace the Duke of Sutherland, was laying in Cowes Roads for charter when a gentleman came on board to look and see if she would suit him, as he wanted a trip to Scotland and back in a month. I said yes, but he was told he must have a steamer to do it, by some friends. Not succeeding in finding a steam yacht, he came back and said he had chartered *Kriemhilda* and wanted to get away next day. I then heard it was Captain Sinclair, who was very pleasant to speak to and a bit of Scotch Humour which

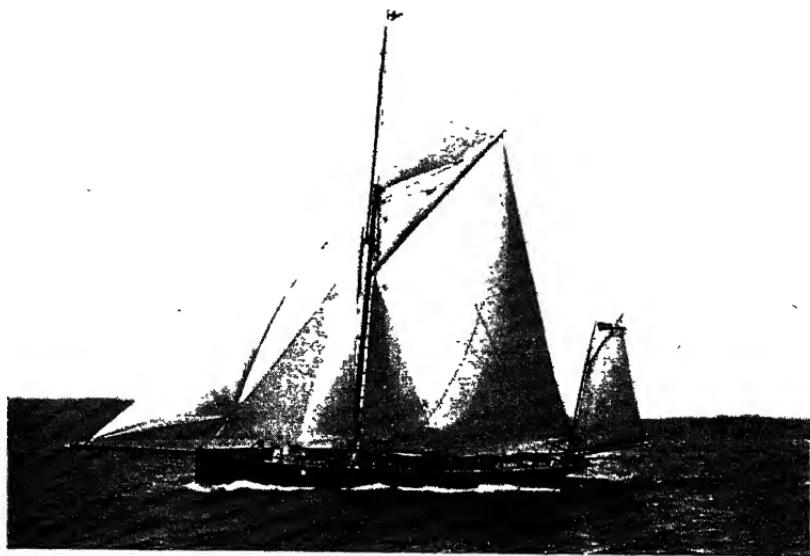
I was rather used to when he spoke. He said, "Well, Captain Edwards, we want to go where I shall not be bothered with letters." We got round the Land's End and when about 35 miles on the way all the wind left us and we were jumping about and making no headway. Captain Sinclair said, "However long are we going to stay here?" I said, "We are got to the place you wanted to get," and assured him he would not get any letters there. He had such a smile, and said, "You are right, but I did not mean out here, I meant the Hills of Scotland." At Kingstown (Dublin) Captain Sinclair said, "Well, Edwards, we have had a good time so far, I would like to give the crew something. What can I do?" I said, "You could give them something to buy a Sunday Dinner," which he did and all was pleased with it and did it every week. At Oban Captain Sinclair had various people to see and businesses: while there the caterer got rather frightened and wanted to leave so I let him go seeing he was afraid, and arranged with the crew if they would do his work between them they should have his wages. Captain Sinclair said to one of the Cornish fishermen named Jack, "Tell the caterer to come to me." He said, "He's gone, Sir," and told him the tale in real Cornish style. Captain Sinclair said with his usual way and smile, "I thought he was in love." Jack said, "Love, Sir, why I am in love, but it don't serve me like that"; to which it's needless to say what happened. I think I must pass on as that was the life and spirit of *Kriemhilda* the whole cruise. I can safely say that with all the people I served there was never one that I can see eye and eye to the same as with Lord Pentland and there was never one should like to have served longer.'

By the end of the cruise Sinclair himself was in love, with yachting. He bought *Mazurka*, a 28-foot cutter

of 7 tons, joined the Island Sailing Club, Cowes, and throughout the season of 1903 went down at week-ends to race in a Solent one-design class. In his *Twenty-five Years* Lord Grey has described how he used to rise with the lark to leave Waterloo for his fishing cottage on summer Saturdays. 'The start from London each Saturday morning was one of rapture, of anticipated pleasure: "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive";' and Sinclair had the same delight in catching a train about 5.40 a.m. from Waterloo so that the Cowes steamer could drop him at Calshot Castle in time for the racing. For cruising, Sinclair bought from Mr. Arnold Morley the yawl *Alruna*, a fine sea-boat of 120 tons, without any auxiliary engine. He joined the Royal Cruising Club and the Royal Highland Yacht Club, and in May 1904 he was elected a member of the Royal Yacht Squadron, in those days an unwonted concession to a Liberal.

In the same week he was engaged,¹ and we were married on 12th July 1904, at St. Mary Abbot's Church, Kensington. Every one knows how pleasant it is to receive the letters which come on such occasions. Mr. St. John Brodrick (then Secretary of State for War in the Conservative Government, now Earl of Midleton) wrote to me: 'Only those who have realized how popular he is as a colleague and how chivalrous as an opponent, will know how much you will gain.' And Mr. Ronald Munro-Ferguson (now Viscount Novar) said: 'His kindness and toleration and devotion to duty are one of the marvels of the age.' These two M.P.s, on opposite benches in the House, had both differed emphatically from Sinclair in politics. Sir Wilfrid Lawson as usual put his letter to Sinclair in rhyme:

¹ To Lady Marjorie Gordon, only daughter of the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen.



ALRUNA R.Y.S
NEAR STORNOWAY, ISLAND OF LEWIS



ROTHION R.Y.S.
OFF "THE START," DEVONSHIRE

I think my view—you'll find it true—
 By all your friends is shared,
 That one who's paired so many men
 Should now himself be paired.
 Those whom within the House you paired
 Replied to Duty's call,
 But this will be, if you are spared,
 The happiest 'pair' of all.
 More permanent than all of these,
 More lasting and more wide,
 For I can't see that there should be
 A reason to 'divide'.
 And so old friends with joy have heard
 Of this announced affair
 And with them all there's but one wish
 God bless the happy 'pair'.

From Sir William Harcourt, Sinclair received two decanters with the note: 'I send you a brace of bottles as a wedding token to keep up your spirits though the Licensing Bill.' Sir William was at our wedding; and after his death in the following October Lady Harcourt wrote: 'You must know without my telling you that my husband was truly attached to you and felt so much your kindness those last sessions in the House of Commons. I am so glad to remember that he gave his blessing in person to you and your wife.'

In *Alruna* R.Y.S., we sailed across the North Sea to Kiel and through the Baltic to Stockholm; up the Gulf of Finland to Kronstadt, between the lines of the Russian fleet just starting for Port Arthur, and then with not only a pilot but a Russian soldier sent aboard to conduct us, up the river Neva till we lay moored by the Nicolaevsky Bridge in the middle of St. Petersburg, and stepped ashore into the strange world of Russia. Our ship like the rest was dressed with flags for the christening of the baby Tsarevitch on 24th August and a proclamation of amnesty to prisoners was cried about the streets. But as we saw the Grand Duke Sergius driving through

the Kremlin at Moscow the crowds were silent; and three months later he was assassinated on that very spot. On our way back, during a calm in the Baltic, we put in to Memel for bread and came on an English church, built for the English colony there in 1853. In the Marienkirche at Danzig we saw an old tablet to a Baron Johan von Sinclair (1640-1731), a Major-General who commanded the forces at Danzig and improved the city, son of a Major Sinclair who served under Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. After calling at Copenhagen *Alruna* ran back from the Elbe to the Thames in 33 hours, an average speed of nearly 10 knots.

We went to Bardmony, the first of our yearly Forfarshire homes, in September, when the valley of Strathmore is one field of gold harvest, fenced by crimson heather and blue mountains. The member went about the county, up in the glens and down by the sea, privileged to share the interests of every home on the way. At night, in country schools, he and his constituents met and greeted each other; and then he would invite them to discuss political business, and explain to them how the welfare of our country and empire meant the welfare in mind, body and estate of each one of the population.

In January 1905 Sinclair served on a Government Fisheries Committee, with Lord Mansfield as Chairman, which visited the harbours of Caithness and Sutherland. He came back to an arduous session. The days of the Conservative Government were numbered, and the Liberal Whips were striving to deal the final thrust. There were many snap divisions and all-night sittings, and it was often early morning before the sound came of a far-off click-clack approaching, a hansom's door opened, sallies between the cabby and his fare, a hearty laugh, the cheerful shut of the front-door and the whistling of the master of the house as he folded his overcoat. This

was at 2 Cambridge Square, a house discovered by him in a quiet, high, open corner of Tyburnia, a region which has risen in favour since, though then considered by some of his friends to be practically off the map. In 1904 Sir Henry and Lady Campbell-Bannerman had also moved, from 6 Grosvenor Place to 29 Belgrave Square; and Sinclair's plan of reconnaissance when considering houses is illustrated in this letter from him:

'14th June, 1904.

'Crowds in London for Ascot: you never saw anything like the Park on Sunday. I walked down, at a respectful distance, to lunch with C.B.: they are house-hunting: and after luncheon, he and I chartered a hansom, and took a non-stop comparative survey of his various possible houses—south side of the Park—north side—Park Lane, Portland Place, Grosvenor Square, Belgrave Square, and round and round about. We guided the driver by umbrella-semaphore, and at first he thought we were clean off our heads. I want him to go to Berkeley Square: but at present Belgrave Square is first favourite.'

Like Sinclair's former rooms at 101 Mount Street, Cambridge Square was near the Park, and he continued going out to scull on the Serpentine in the early mornings. For the week-ends he took obscure trains at all hours of night and morning to join *Rothon*, an 11-ton yawl-rigged Falmouth quay punt which he had bought as a diminutive to *Alruna*, and thus he explored that summer the lovely harbours of the southern Devon and Cornwall coast.

From Marienbad Sir H. C.-B. wrote to Sinclair on 26th August that King Edward had sent for him to 'have a talk, when he expressed his satisfaction of having the chance of a frank conversation on things abroad and at home, as I must soon be in office and very high office.

. . . Most significant and very discreetly done. Quite scared and saddened me. Of course this is *secretissimo*.' It was indeed hard to believe, not least for Sir H. C.-B. himself, that after undergoing so many trials he would soon be acknowledged with authority and honour. Ireland was the only rift: Sir Henry wrote to Sinclair on 26th October: 'H.H.A. [Asquith] from Dalmeny writes to Herbert [Gladstone] disaster threatened unless Home Rule is definitely deferred . . . I am not afraid of the Irish question, being honest about it.'

The election might come at any moment and Sinclair, who had all along taken much trouble in hunting for good candidates, now tried to get them posted in the best way. He had hoped to secure one friend, Mr. J. M. Barrie, now Sir James Barrie, O.M., for a Scottish University seat, but on reflection Mr. Barrie wrote in December 1905:

'The Universities would have been an ideal seat if I had been to stand at all, but I am convinced it is wiser I should not. Public life would be too much out of my line. I have grown into a hermit. Politics is a great and a fine calling but it is not for me. . . . Thank you very heartily. . . . I am with you heart and spirit in the Liberal cause.'

'Yours sincerely,

'J. M. BARRIE.'

At last, on 4th December 1905, Mr. Balfour resigned, and the next day the King asked Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to form a Government. Sinclair had travelled up with him from Scotland on 3rd December and spent the next fortnight at Sir Henry's house, acting as confidential secretary and messenger during the formation of the Government—a complicated machine where different elements have to be delicately balanced to get the right equilibrium and momentum. A few 'Secret'

notes remain as traces to some of the anxieties of such a time. He warded off the cluster of newspaper reporters by a half-sheet of note-paper put up in Sir Henry's front hall, and secret as ever he was till on 11th December the list of the Cabinet was published. Sinclair himself was included as Secretary for Scotland and Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland and on the same day he kissed hands and was sworn of the King's Privy Council with the other new Ministers. The Great Seal was brought up by the Deputy Keeper from Edinburgh to be committed to his charge. An evening paper said: 'Scotch as can be—very special—and of varied secretarial experience—why not Secretary for Scotland?'

When the Government was announced, letters of encouragement came to Sinclair from the little school of Lyth, from Wellington College, from the 5th Lancers, from Toynbee Hall, all proud of their first representative in the Cabinet. One Scot writes his 'great delight as an educationist,' another of 'your great services to public health'. A Scottish member says 'the appointment will be greatly welcomed in Scotland but we shall never have another Whip like you.' Sir Horace Plunkett: 'Your fidelity to C.B. in days when his star was not in the ascendant makes one enjoy your reward.' Sir Henry Oldham: 'As your old Hythe instructor, although my politics are diametrically opposite to yours, if I had a vote in your constituency it would go to you.' Canon Barnett wrote from Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, 11th December 1905: 'The first of the Toynbee group to be in the Cabinet! I am very glad with you and for you. The opportunity is great because the country is coming to a parting of the ways. You, our rulers, will need to be very brave and very cautious to unite the zeal of the Labour Party to the liberality that comes of knowledge. May yours be the satisfaction to carry out on the highest platform what we try to do here.' James

C. Millward from East Ham, 2nd January 1906, sent 'Congratulations . . . on appointment to Cabinet. It recalls to me the happy days spent with you at Toynbee, the splendid afternoon talks (on Sundays) which so greatly influenced the lives of those boys to whom those talks were addressed, likewise the splendid holiday at Goring-on-Thames, when you entertained the boys of the Guild of Good Endeavour with tea and tales of your military life . . . Pray, sir, forgive me for dwelling at length upon this oasis of my life.'

Sinclair was staying with Sir H. C.-B. at Belmont Castle, Meigle, for the last days of the Forfarshire election, and on 22nd January 1906 waited at Forfar for the declaration of the poll. His last majority, in 1901, had been 248; this time the figures were:

Sinclair (L.)	6,796
Bernard (C.)	3,277
Liberal majority	<u>3,519</u>

There was indeed rejoicing among that splendid Committee of Liberal warriors. As the car returned to Belmont, Sir Henry came to the door, both hands held out in congratulation; Lady C.-B. beamed with pleasure as telegrams kept coming in with the news of one amazing victory after another. When the election was over, Progressive members held 60 out of the 72 seats in Scotland; the efforts of the Scottish Whip were rewarded. Progressive members had the unprecedented majority of 354 in the House of Commons; the Liberals were really in power.

IV

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND: AT WESTMINSTER

AS Secretary for Scotland Sinclair was entrusted with an office which governs not only a department, but a nation. On the King's birthday the Union Jack flies over the other offices, but the Scottish Lion at Dover House. Scotland had made her own laws and wars for many centuries before her king inherited the throne of England too, and before the Parliaments were united. The Union indeed has been so harmonious that many people do not know how separate and different the constitution of Scotland still remains. Except for one or two services like the Post Office and the Inland Revenue, which apply to Great Britain as a whole, the Secretary for Scotland, with the aid of the Lord Advocate and the Solicitor-General for Scotland, has charge of all legislation and administration connected with the northern kingdom. Sinclair had to advise the Sovereign in all matters regarding the Royal prerogative, including appointments; he was the ministerial head of the Scottish Education Department, the President of the Local Government Board for Scotland (merged since 1919 in the Scottish Board of Health), and the Chairman of the Congested Districts Board. He was responsible to Parliament for the Fishery Board, the Prison Commission, the Registrar-General's Department, the Board of Lunacy, the Board of Trustees of

the National Galleries of Scotland. All these subjects had to be mastered by studying boxes-full of papers; by endless correspondence, interviews, deputations, meetings, and journeys to Scotland. After finding out what to do he had to get it done; officials, Cabinet colleagues, Parliament had to be convinced; time and money had to be obtained for the smaller and poorer country, and, should Scotland be ready for it, the right to advance alone. Sinclair had besides to answer questions, listen, speak, and vote in the House of Commons; to address meetings in Forfarshire and elsewhere; and to study the matters of foreign, imperial, fiscal, naval and military policy which came before the Cabinet during those years.

For instance, the Transvaal Constitution confronted them at once; some wished to go on with the Lyttelton plan and amend it later; others to grant self-government outright. The Right Hon. J. C. Smuts writes of 'the part Lord Pentland played in connection with the achievement of a free constitution for the Transvaal', and says: 'in 1906 he was most kind and helpful to me in my efforts to persuade the then Liberal Government to grant self-government to the Transvaal. I felt sure during all my many talks with members of the Government that he was using his great influence with Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to back my efforts.' On 5th February 1906 General Smuts was at Cambridge Square for a long talk with Sinclair over these alternatives. On 8th February, after a strong appeal by the Prime Minister, the Cabinet agreed to the bolder way. Mrs. T. R. Buchanan, who was sitting at tea with Lady Campbell-Bannerman that afternoon, remembers the triumphant relief with which Sir Henry came in after the Cabinet meeting, and said to Lady C.-B.: 'Well, ma'am, they've agreed, and I've got it through.'

Later in 1906 Mr. Balfour said of this proposal: 'I

refuse to accept the invitation that we on this side should make ourselves responsible with the Government for what I regard as the most reckless experiment ever tried in the development of a great Colonial policy.' But the decision had already been fully rewarded when in May 1911 the Right Hon. Louis Botha, the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, came to the Scottish Office to watch the Guards trooping the Colour on the Horse Guards Parade; it was still further justified when in 1914-1915 he took the field in South Africa once more.

In legislation, among the chief matters which occupied the Cabinet and Parliament between 1906 and 1912, were:

In 1906 the Education Bill, the Plural Voting Bill, the Trade Disputes Act, the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Merchant Shipping Act;

In 1907 the Territorial Forces Act, the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill, the Land Values (Scotland) Bill, the Qualification of Women Act, the Small Holdings (England and Wales) Act;

In 1908 the Old Age Pensions Act, the Licensing Bill, the Miners Hours Act, the Irish Universities Act, the Port of London Act, the Children's Act, the Education (Scotland) Act, and the Scottish Land Bills;

In 1909 the Indian Councils Act, the Irish Land Act, the Housing and Town Planning Act, the Labour Exchanges Act, the Sweated Trades Boards Act, the Scottish Trawling Act.

In November 1909 the House of Lords rejected the Budget, so in January 1910 there was a General Election. The Parliament Bill was introduced, the 1909 Budget passed by the Lords, the Constitutional Conference held, and on its failure, there was another general election in December 1910. In 1911 the Parliament

Act, the National Insurance Act and the Small Land-holders (Scotland) Act became law.

Of course some of the Bills which had taken most time to frame and discuss got no further than the House of Lords, as Scotland found. The Land Values (Scotland) Bill, which provided for the ascertainment of the capital land value of all lands entered in the valuation roll, after being twice passed by the House of Commons, had thus to be dropped. Private members' Bills needed time and consideration too; for instance, the Temperance Bill for local option and licensing reform passed through the Scottish Standing Committee in 1909-10; it was adopted by the Government and carried in 1913. There were many other demands for overdue reforms, many hopes and promises of the last ten years to be satisfied as far as possible. Sinclair himself was eager to make the most of every minute. An official in the Scottish Office said some years later that ever since the Liberals came in there had been as much activity at the Office as if the Government were going out next week.

One need stood first: what Scotland wanted most was land for Scots.

From scenes like these old Scotia's grandeur springs
That makes her lov'd at home, rever'd abroad

was said by Burns about the cottage of a 'hardy son of rustic toil'; and Sinclair wanted to preserve the prospect of such scenes for the people who remained. These small homes were vanishing off the face of the country. Within living memory the road from Dundee to Arbroath was lined with small holdings: hardly one is left. There was the same sight and the same tale in nearly every country parish of Scotland. Landlords could not or would not meet the cost of the buildings, and tenants naturally did not spend their capital on places where they had no certain right to stay.



REVERSE OF THE GREAT SEAL
USED IN SCOTLAND BY H.M. KING EDWARD VII
(WITH THE SCOTTISH LION MARSHALLED IN THE FIRST AND FOURTH QUARTERS)



SCOTTISH OFFICE BALCONY: TROOPING OF THE COLOUR, 1911
LEFT TO RIGHT MRS. BOTHA; SIR WILFRID LAURIER, PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA, RT. HON. LOUIS
BOTHA, PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTH AFRICA

A well-known large farmer wrote from Aberdeenshire (which has more small holdings than any other county in Scotland):

'Within the memory of living man, ninety crofts and small farms have disappeared in this district. Yet I hold that the State cannot afford to let them go; the importance of this class of citizen cannot be estimated. The present system has broken down, for there are fifty offers for every place in the market, yet those small farms are being done away with because the landlord cannot afford to keep them up. The history of the crofter in Aberdeenshire is like this: A man built a house in a bog and was allowed for a nominal rent to reclaim what land he could. He built, he drained, he toiled and made a small farm. At the end of his lease his rent was raised and all his buildings and improvements went to the landlord. The next generation said, if our improvements go to the landlord we will not make any. The result is that the landlord has to do the improvements. If the tenant was assured of proper compensation he would do a great deal himself and more economically than the landlord.'

At his Forfarshire meetings Sinclair had for years been raising the alarm at the decline in rural population and urging remedies which had been proved sound by experience. He had sent his commission to see the facts in Denmark; and just on the other side of Scotland a successful solution had been found. As the Rev. Dugald MacEchern, parish minister of Bower, Caithness, writes:

'The Highland clearances of the early nineteenth century had swept away thousands of families, and even after 1820 more and more pasture land once occupied by the little flocks and herds of the crofters was formed into sheep walks and deer forests. So the crofts could

no longer support the crofter's sheep, which provided his meat and clothing; nor the ponies to carry his peats and seaweed, nor the cattle which gave him butter and cheese. Incessant cropping of the curtailed crofts deteriorated the soil. Rents were forced up by competition to a limit which left a margin only for bare subsistence and which in bad seasons meant actual famine. The standard of living rose; and the land agitation increased till in several places people were arrested for demanding their old pasture grounds and "deforcing" police officers. In 1882 Mr. Gladstone appointed Lord Napier's Commission, and before the election of 1885 Mr. Joseph Chamberlain led the call for reform at meetings in Glasgow and Inverness.¹ In 1886 the Liberal Government passed the Crofters Act, which gave the crofters of seven counties security of tenure, a fair rent, and compensation for improvements. Every one agreed about the success of the Act; rents were punctually paid, tenants put up their buildings, the value of the landlords' interest increased.

The Liberal Party were agreed on the need for further land reform, which should take into account three things: (1) The desire of the crofter class in the crofter counties for the division of sheep farms and deer forests into crofter holdings—an operation for which existing legislation was clearly inadequate; (2) The fact that Sir George Trevelyan, as Secretary for Scotland, introduced in 1894 and 1895 Bills to extend crofter tenure to eight other counties; (3) The desirability of creating new small holdings of fair size in the non-crofting counties of Scotland.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had been brought up at Stracathro, in Forfarshire, and his own home, Belmont Castle, Meigle, was on the edge of the county; he had seen the people ebbing away there, and he had often listened to Sinclair's plans. In his first speech as Prime

Minister at the Albert Hall on 21st December 1905, he said: 'We desire to give the farmer greater freedom and greater security; to secure a home and a career for the labourer. We wish to make the land less of a pleasure ground for the rich and more of a treasure house for the nation.'

So the King's Speech of February 1906 promised a measure for amending and extending the Crofters Act; this sounded harmless, and no one took alarm.

Then there were six months of careful consideration and complicated drafting. Sinclair was convinced that security of tenure for the tenant farmer, especially if he were a small tenant farmer, was an indispensable condition of good farming. He knew that security of tenure implied judicial rents, but in his mind this should not necessarily mean a general reduction of rents. Accordingly he decided on giving something like crofter tenure to existing small farmers throughout Scotland.

As regards the formation of new holdings, like most Liberals at that time, he was not anxious to obtain the necessary land by purchase, because he did not want to turn the smallholders either into peasant proprietors or tenants of a Government Department. The new smallholders accordingly should occupy their holdings under security of tenure like the existing crofters but as tenants of the landowner, the State providing them with the means of putting up the houses and steadings.

The principle of compulsory hiring of land had already been adopted in the Crofters Act for the provision of enlargements of existing crofters' holdings, and the Congested Districts Board had found a number of mainland and island landowners willing to break up sheep farms into crofts and accept the crofter tenants on the understanding that the Government provided the means for the necessary adaptation and equipment of the land. It was for consideration whether for the creation of new

small holdings different machinery would have to be used for the crofting counties and the rest of Scotland. Sinclair was satisfied that it was no use trying to work through the County Councils, who had done practically nothing under the earlier Small Holdings Act, and that therefore central machinery must be set up. Under all the circumstances he decided for a uniform measure for the whole country.

At last, on 28th July 1906, a *Saturday* afternoon squeezed in at the end of the session, Sinclair introduced The Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill. The main points of the Bill were: (1) The extension of the area of the Crofters Acts to the whole of Scotland, giving security of tenure, a fair rent and compensation for improvements to all smallholders, including leaseholders, paying a rent of £50 and under, or with holdings not exceeding 50 acres in extent;

(2) Provisions for the enlargement of existing holdings, and formation of new holdings, by agreement or by compulsory powers;

(3) The creation of two new bodies, one administrative, the other judicial, the Board of Agriculture and the Land Court. The Board of Agriculture was to take the initial steps in connection with the making of small holdings, and prepare schemes and finally carry them out; but so far as the compulsory taking of land was involved, the intervention of the Land Court was necessary, and to that Court was left the duty of fixing the fair rents of the new holdings and any compensations due to the landlord and the dispossessed farm tenant. The Land Court also had the duty of fixing the fair rents for all existing small holdings that came under the Statutory tenure and otherwise arbitrating between them and their landowners. The Board of Agriculture was to take over the Scottish duties of the London Board, and the work of the Congested Districts Board, and to

encourage and develop agriculture in all directions; among other things it could make loans for housing.

In introducing the Bill and in many later speeches Sinclair showed how rural population had dwindled, emigration increased, cultivation fallen, food imports risen, how purchase was not wanted and was impossibly expensive, whereas the Crofters Act had already succeeded. He said he found that smallholders prospered wherever they had security of tenure, with training and organization; and laid the Bill before the House 'as an endeavour to solve a problem of vital importance'. A letter from Sutherlandshire some years later said: 'You can have no idea how we in the North who struggled so long to get the Crofters Act of 1886 amended felt, when on that memorable Saturday afternoon in 1906 you announced in the House of Commons the leading features of the Land Bill. From that day onward you have a place in the heart of the Highland people from which nothing can ever displace you.'

But those connected with the landed interest felt otherwise, as they began to understand that the Bill included compulsory powers, and that it applied to the whole of Scotland. It protected them in every way, but they were indignant at the idea of parting with what, as Lord Lansdowne said, they valued above all things, 'the right to select the persons to be associated with the proprietor in the cultivation of the soil.' The outcry of the Press daily grew louder: in the course of the struggle the *Scotsman* published, besides countless hostile paragraphs, at least seventy-seven leading articles denouncing the Bill and its author. Sinclair was unmoved and in March 1907 he brought in the Bill again; in April it passed its second reading by a majority of 239. Through 467 columns of Hansard there are many lively passages on every aspect of the land question as it was thrashed out that summer, for twenty-three

controversial days in Grand Committee, and nine days in the House of Commons. Timid Liberals, and a timid Small Holdings Bill for England, added to the difficulties. During the third reading on 9th August several members spoke of the determination, caution, 'amazing patience' and 'unfailing courtesy' shown by the Secretary for Scotland. Mr. Arthur Balfour violently attacked 'this wild and infantile experiment' and in winding up for the Opposition said 'no one knows anything of the genesis of the Bill or to whose ingenuity the House owes it'. Sir H. C.-B. replied: 'If the right hon. gentleman has some doubts as to the genesis he is able to state as well as most people what its exodus would be; and if that exodus is not of a favourable character, I can promise the right hon. gentleman that there will be a deuteronomy.' The command of the opposition to the Bill now passed from the Conservative ex-Prime Minister in the House of Commons to the Liberal ex-Prime Minister in the House of Lords, who added his eloquence to what Mr. Asquith called 'the denigratory rhetoric' heaped upon the Secretary for Scotland and his Bill. Lord Rosebery called it 'the most amazing measure ever presented to Parliament' and looking at the Scottish peers gathered on his right and on his left, he declared: 'If no one else goes into the lobby, I will go alone.'

Lord Balfour of Burleigh had moved the rejection of the Bill outright, but Lord Lansdowne preferred that the debate should be adjourned *sine die*, and this was carried by the House of Lords on 14th August by 162 to 39. The exodus was accomplished.

In the House of Commons, on 22nd August 1907, Sir H. C.-B. announced that the Bill was withdrawn, to be re-introduced at an early date, and on 12th February 1908 he made the last speech of his life, proposing a new procedure for the speedy passage of the Small Landholders Bill and the Scottish Land Values Bill

(which had been rejected by the House of Lords on 26th August 1907): 'The first time I believe in the history of this House that Bills have been a second time sent up to the House of Lords within the compass of a single Parliament.' This procedure carried out the decision of the year before when, as Sir Henry reminded the House, 'a resolution was adopted, on my motion, by the House of Commons, affirming the principle that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons should prevail'. The second reading was passed by a majority of 244, and the third reading by 257. Again the Bill was sent to the House of Lords; immediately its rejection was moved by Lord Balfour of Burleigh and carried on 11th March by 153 to 33, in spite of the warning of Lord Loreburn, the Lord Chancellor: 'I have yet to learn that I am to look for the sense of the country elsewhere than in the minds of its elected representatives.' Of the 72 members elected for Scotland 60 were Liberal, and all of these except three supported the Bill with enthusiasm. For the excellent reason that they found, as Sir Henry said, that 'it is what the Scottish people are desirous of having'. County members said in the House that they had 'never seen Scotland so agitated and earnest about any question'; 'that all they wished to listen to was about the Bill, not only Liberals, but many Tories'; and city members like Mr. George Barnes supported it because, he said, the people he represented also wanted it.

Of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's speech on the Land Bills, Mr. Spender says in his *Life*: 'He took a strong interest in these Bills, and had vigorously supported the Scottish Secretary in his efforts to steer them through the cross-currents in the Cabinet and outside; and he spoke with emphasis and energy. This was his

last speech . . . and he never again left his room in Downing Street after returning to it on the evening of February 12th.' After two months of illness he died, on 22nd April 1908, and by his own desire he was buried beside Lady Campbell-Bannerman at Meigle. He left to Sinclair, who was one of the trustees of his will, all his papers and correspondence. The frank and friendly days with 'C.-B.' were over.

On 8th April Mr. Asquith became Prime Minister, and wrote asking Sinclair to retain his office of Secretary for Scotland in the new administration. Mr. Asquith followed Sir Henry in supporting the Land Bill, and declared to a great meeting at Earlston that the Government would deal with the land on the sound principles of the Small Landholders Bill. It was clear, however, that at any future attempt the Government must have a spokesman for this measure in the House of Lords. The peer who answered for Scotland in the Upper House had felt obliged to give up that duty rather than defend the Bill, and there was no other to take his place.

So on 27th January 1909 Sinclair wrote to his valued friend and Chairman in Forfarshire, Mr. David Wilkie: 'The Prime Minister has come to the conclusion that in the interests of Scottish business in Parliament at the present time there should be in the House of Lords a Minister acquainted with the administration of Scottish affairs, who can be responsible for legislation in Scotland. He has asked me as Secretary for Scotland to discharge this duty, and I have consented to attempt to do so to the best of my ability. As a Liberal I leave the House of Commons with deep reluctance and with a poignancy of regret which can hardly perhaps be realized except by those who have spent as many years as I have in working in it and for it. But I know, as you do, that the Lord Advocate and the Solicitor-General will together be equal to all the demands of Scottish business there,

and the public interest will in no degree suffer. To my lasting sorrow also this step necessarily and suddenly severs the strong ties of regard and affection which bind me to you and all my friends and political comrades in the county—I may perhaps even say to all those whom I have had the honour of representing in Parliament for the last twelve years, and who have throughout shown to me such constant kindness. I trust that this step may be approved by you and by them. No member of the House of Commons has ever been more proud of his constituents or more grateful to them than I am and it is with the intention of working elsewhere for their interests in the future and in that hope that I now say, Good-bye.'

To vanish into the other House was like vanishing from real political life and so the event proved. Sinclair knew too that going there might be misunderstood, but he was set on trying to save the Land Bill. He felt that his constituents would not lose, for Mr. James Falconer, W.S., of Carmyllie, Forfarshire, a close friend who had all along worked with Sinclair at the Land Bill, and for Liberalism in Scotland, had consented to stand, and he was returned with a fine majority. The *Scotsman* said: 'However keen differences were on matters of policy, Mr. Sinclair has never made a personal enemy in the House,' though it pointed out that 'it was a Radical, not a Unionist, who having tried in vain to secure a concession, described him as "a most amiable, obstinate gentleman".' Some Scottish Liberals had complained of his 'Tory' appointments, and at a meeting of the Scottish Liberal Association in 1909 moved a resolution condemning the Scottish Office on this ground. Mr. J. G. Mackay, a well-known Skye leader, rose in defence, saying: 'I come from a land, the Island of Skye, where a reward of £30,000 was offered by the English Government for Prince Charlie's head. Our people were poor,

but Prince Charlie went about as free as air and no man betrayed him. Do you ask us Highlanders to betray Lord Pentland, the best friend the Highlands have ever had?' The motion was withdrawn. Lord Oxford has told me that the only personal disagreement he remembers between Sinclair and himself was once when Sinclair was unwilling to give an appointment to one of Lord Oxford's constituents.

A good name was part of the loss; his ancestors had lived by the Pentland Hills and then by the Pentland Firth,

Where erst St. Clairs held princely sway
O'er isle and islet, strait and bay,

so the title he chose was: Pentland of Lyth (Lyth was the district and the original name of his family home, Barrock, in Caithness); and he took for the 'supporters' that were necessary for his coat-of-arms the hounds Help and Hold who had won the lands of Pentland for his ancestor.

A Scottish Liberal M.P. wrote:

‘28. i. ’09.

‘There is not the slightest doubt the Land Bills have suffered thro' inadequate defence in the H. of L., your own Bill in particular. In this matter I feel you are going into the den of lions but I know you will not flinch even there. There is profound gratitude to you in Scotland for your efforts to pass the whole Bill with which your name will be for ever associated. Scotland is at your back.’

The Scottish Conservative Whip, Mr. George Younger, now Viscount Younger of Leckie, said:

‘28th Jan. ’09.

‘I can well understand that your side has suffered much from the want of a peer competent from know-

ledge and experience to deal with the complicated questions in Scottish law and practice which some of your measures have raised, but all the same I am very sorry we are to lose you. No one could have been kinder or more generous to me than you have been, and much as we have differed on certain questions I could never find it in my heart to say a harsh word to you, and it was always a real pleasure to me when I could support you. Your lines fell in contentious times, and I say it with conviction, that there is no man on your side who could have done your work and caused so little temper or ill feeling on the Unionist side as you have done.'

One friend wrote: 'Some of the noble lords are chuckling at the prospect of pounding you in their own House, so you may look out for squalls.' Mr. Cunningham-Graham said: 'Leaven the lump as far as possible.'

At the General Election in January 1910 the overwhelming Liberal majority in Scotland was actually increased, and at the General Election in December 1910 that increased majority was maintained. A newspaper remarked that 'The steadiness of the Scottish county vote in the last two elections was unquestionably due above everything else to the enthusiasm aroused by the Pentland Bill and to the determination to have it reach the Statute Book'; Lord Bryce wrote from Washington: 'I hear from Scotland that the feeling for your Land Bill is so strong that the Tory reaction visible in England has not spread there.'

In 1911 the Bill was introduced by Mr. (now Sir) Donald Maclean as a private member's measure, and its second reading on 2nd June was carried—without a division! For by this time the Conservatives had found that the party could make no headway in Scotland while they opposed the Bill; and saw that at last they were

about to lose the power to stop a Liberal Government from doing what the people wanted; in May the Parliament Bill had been passed to end the veto of the Lords.

The Government adopted the Land Bill in Committee and in order to prevent further delay, agreed to some concessions; for instance, where the landlord had done the improvements the leaseholder could remain as a 'statutory small tenant'. Long hours were spent fitting these changes into the Bill with the least damage possible. Pentland wrote on a Sunday, 23rd July 1911: 'We have been pow-wowning all day, to some effect I think; but it is heavy uphill work. I am so sorry not to be with you all, but the evening is so sultry I cannot help rejoicing you are out of dismal smelly old London. *Etwas heiss*—oh for that "island"! "Peers beaten to a Frazzle!" is the Reynolds' poster.' The original Die-hards were making a last stand in the Constitutional crisis, but on 10th August the Lords agreed to the Parliament Bill, and on 18th August it became law. A great railway strike had been declared just then; it was settled by the help of the Government on 20th August, not before several lives had been lost through the fire of the soldiers who in England were despatched to keep order; Pentland had refrained from sending troops to Glasgow, though advisers had pressed him to do so.

In December 1911 the Land Bill came once more to the Lords; it was for this moment that Pentland had gone there, and he did his best for the Bill in the points where compromise was inevitable; for instance, in claims for compensation of over £300, the landlord was given the right of appeal to an arbiter in place of the Land Court. Pentland's reluctance to agree to this proposal was amply justified by events.

The last tussle was over setting up a separate Board of Agriculture for Scotland; against this on 6th November Mr. Bonar Law made his first speech after being elected

leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons. However, on 13th December, the Lords agreed to it on the understanding that the Contagious Diseases of Animals Acts were excluded from its powers, and on 14th December the Bill was read a third time in the House of Lords and really passed into law.

Sir T. Carlaw Martin wrote: 'It is no small achievement to have effected such a revolution of opinion in regard to landholding as you have effected within the last ten years. Scotland has indeed moved since 1902 when you broke the ground of the land question in Forfarshire.' The Chairman of the Crofter Commission, Sheriff (afterwards Lord) Kennedy, wrote: 'Sir Robert Peel in one of his last great speeches expressed his conviction that he would be "remembered in the homes of the poor" for his abolition of the Corn Laws. I am sure that you will be remembered vividly and affectionately for having created the means of providing new homes and prosperous conditions, with freedom from the restraints and insecurity which had gone far to destroy rural Scotland, for a large and deserving number of the people. The Land Act will always be popularly known as the "Pentland Act"; and nothing is better recognized than that the Act was yours, in conception and in its whole tenor (except the modifications necessary to secure its passing into law), and that but for your persistent advocacy it might have remained a Bill for an indefinite time. I hope that you may have the satisfaction to hear of its increasing and successful operation.'

The Act affected about 27,000 holdings in the crofting counties, and in the rest of Scotland about 28,000, whose tenants gained the benefits of security of tenure for the first time; and in the first two years after the Act was passed, there were over 8,000 applications for new holdings and enlargements. Of course six years of oppor-

tunity had already been sacrificed, and the census figures of 1911 showed the fresh drop in Scotland's population which had taken place meanwhile. The chief promoter of the scheme was not left to carry it out; landlords, prejudiced by their politics, did not realize the advantages offered them, whereby their rent would be guaranteed and the cost of their buildings met; claims for compensation caused excessive expense, owing to the provision which Pentland had resisted, and which the Land Settlement Act of 1919 had to amend by restoring his original proposal. The War took away men and money, and some of the applicants who had been asking for years when they were to get holdings under 'Sinclair's Bill' grew tired of waiting and sailed off to the Dominions. But many applications have been settled, and less than 2 per cent. of these holdings have failed, a smaller average than among ordinary farmers. The Board of Agriculture's Report for 1925 says that the reports it has received 'show that holders generally are making a success of their holdings'. The report of the Scottish Liberal Land Inquiry of 1927-8 says: 'So far as small holdings are concerned, we have had successful experience over the whole country for the last sixteen years, and over the Highland area for nearly half a century, of statutory security of tenure, fair rents, compensation for improvements and jurisdiction by a Land Court'; and in the interests of agricultural and national prosperity the report recommends that the provisions of the Land-holders Acts should be extended to all tenant farmers in Scotland. It says too: 'It is right to recall here the immense accomplishment of Liberals in the years before the War in placing on the Statute Book the first of those measures which have won for Scotland the proud place of pioneer in land reform in Great Britain . . . the 1911 Act still remains the foundation of modern legislation in Scotland, and will stand as a constant tribute

to the enlightened enthusiasm for Scottish interests of the Liberal Government of that time.'

Next in importance after people's homes, to Sinclair's mind, came the education of their children. This was another subject he had studied; he had introduced a Bill for the education of half-timers and had taken part in the debates on previous measures. He found awaiting him at the Scottish Office opportunities for advance in several directions.

Sir George Macdonald, K.C.B., LL.D., Permanent Secretary to the Scottish Education Department, writes:

'At the moment when the Right Hon. John Sinclair, as he then was, took up his duties as political head of the Scottish Education Department, Sir John Struthers had succeeded Sir Henry Craik as Permanent Secretary of the Department, and the relations which were at once established between him and his new chief, resting as they did on mutual confidence, proved to be cordial in the extreme. Rapid progress was made during the next few years, especially in regard to the care of children physically, the training of teachers, the secondary school system, and facilities for continued instruction after the school age.

'The first Act of Parliament carried through by Lord Pentland in 1906 was one empowering School Boards to make special provision for the care and education of epileptic, cripple, and defective children. His sympathy with every form of suffering was intense and it was thus fitting that it should have fallen to him to give this lead, and that it should have been he who afterwards, in the Scottish Education Act of 1908, was responsible for legislation that gave sanction to the medical inspection of young people attending school and the treatment of necessitous cases. The Act of 1908, which passed through the House of Commons and Grand Committee

under Mr. Sinclair's charge, also laid upon School Boards the duty of seeing that the pupils under their charge were always sufficiently well-fed and well-clad to enable them to take advantage of the education that was offered them. As to physical training, it would not have been surprising if one whose own earlier years of active life had been spent in the Army, had shown a leaning towards the methods of what may be called the military school of experts. Lord Pentland took the saner view that medical rather than military considerations must be paramount, and that those who are to impart it must have a sound knowledge of physiological principles.

'The success of the negotiations for the transfer of the Normal Colleges was due in no small measure to the trust which all parties came to repose in Lord Pentland personally. He realized that the proper staffing of the schools is the true keystone of the educational fabric; and it was not merely of the training of the teachers that he thought. He induced Parliament to accord them a right of appeal against dismissal and, above all, established a claim to their gratitude by improving the conditions of superannuation. Before he sailed for Madras, he was made an Honorary Fellow of the Educational Institute of Scotland, a clear proof of the extent to which his friendly efforts on their behalf were appreciated by the members of the teaching profession generally.

'In the history of the Secondary School system his administration constituted a landmark. The Act of 1908 secured the maintenance, from one end of Scotland to the other, of a sufficient number of well-equipped and well-staffed centres of higher instruction, and a series of generous bursary schemes made it certain that neither lack of means nor remoteness of residence would be allowed to bar the progress of any boy or girl of real ability. Lord Pentland was impressed with the neces-

sity for the continued instruction of the adolescent and even of the adult, and one of the most important proposals of the Act was that empowering School Boards to make by-laws requiring the attendance of children up to 17 at continuation classes. Long afterwards—indeed, within a very few weeks of the end of his life—the problem was much in his thoughts. The Edinburgh College of Art started under him and he fostered the other great central Institutions. But none lay so near his heart as did the Agricultural Colleges. A devoted lover of the country, he was anxious to see it occupied by a large and thriving population. Knowing the means by which this had been achieved elsewhere—particularly in some of the Scandinavian countries—he was profoundly convinced that Scotland had everything to gain from the more scientific instruction of those who tilled her soil. And he was convinced that in this, as in everything else, we had to begin at the beginning. It was characteristic that on one of the very last sojourns which he made in Scotland before his death he should have been visiting school gardens and inquiring as to what was being done to encourage their formation and use.'

Such is a brief summary of Lord Pentland's official connection with education in Scotland. To those who were privileged to work either with him or under him, however, a record of the kind would seem strangely inadequate unless it were supplemented by a reference to the personal qualities which were so conspicuously displayed at every turn. His loyalty to his colleagues was matched by the kindness and consideration which was invariably extended to his subordinates. His patience in all circumstances was unwearying, and he took extraordinary trouble to master the details of the multifarious matters of business that had to be brought to his notice. In discussion he could maintain his own point of view firmly, while showing a spirit of gentle-

ness and conciliation that compelled even his enemies (if he had any) to be at peace with him. It was the possession of this spirit, combined with his exceptional capacity for taking pains, that enabled him to pilot the Act of 1908 so easily through the Scottish Grand Committee. Some of those who gave him most assistance in that task have already passed away. The survivors will recall the preliminary consultations held each morning, before the Committee met, in his room at Dover House, when every amendment on the Order Paper was taken up in turn, its feasibility examined, its possible implications weighed. Most remarkable of all, however, was his gift of creating an atmosphere of goodwill and geniality in any company in which he moved. It was exercised without apparent effort upon his part. Probably, indeed, he was unconscious of the influence he was radiating. But its effect was instantaneous and unmistakable. How wide the circle to which it might spread was brought home vividly to many in 1909, on the occasion of the social gathering to which Lord Pentland invited representatives from all parts of Scotland to celebrate the coming into force of the new Education Act. The hundreds who were present found themselves on the best possible terms with one another in an astonishingly short space of time, and it would be difficult to over-estimate the wealth of happy memories that were carried home to town and village, to farm and lonely glen. The brilliant success of the entertainment was a veritable triumph of personal charm.'

The art institutions of Scotland at that time needed reorganizing, and Mr. James L. Caw, F.S.A., Director of the National Gallery, Edinburgh, writes:

'One of the unsolved problems left to Lord Pentland at the Scottish Office affected the condition of Art in

Scotland. A Departmental Committee, of 1902, had recommended many changes, but although a Bill had been prepared, nothing definite had been done. Lord Pentland now took the matter up and, after much consultation, the National Galleries of Scotland Act was passed in 1906. Additional funds were provided, a new Board of Trustees for the National Galleries of Scotland superseded the venerable Board of Manufacture; far more suitable accommodation was found for the Royal Society in George Street; a new and finely equipped School of Art was built, partly from private subscriptions; to the Royal Scottish Academy was allotted the Royal Institute. The National Gallery of Scotland took over the whole building it had previously shared with the Academy, and, with the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, obtained other advantages.'

The National Gallery of Scotland has certainly been transformed from what it was like before the Act of 1906. Owing largely to the work of Mr. J. L. Caw as Director, many important additions to the pictures have been secured, and the collection is now strikingly rich in gems and well arranged. At a banquet of the Royal Scottish Academy, held in honour of its centenary in 1926, the Right Hon. J. Ramsay Macdonald, replying for the Guests, pointed out how the Scottish people is cradled in everything that makes great imaginative artists, and said he would hope that when those engaged in the strife of the world came to a place like this the beautiful works of art on the walls would influence their minds and give them a sense of that soothing and healing calm and beauty that always is the atmosphere of all great art.

At a former banquet, held on 12th May 1911, to celebrate the Royal Scottish Academy's first use of their new premises, Sir James Guthrie, P.R.S.A., said that

one of Lord Pentland's first actions on assuming office was to take up the matter of our national art institutions, and that in difficult negotiations he had never been revealed as wanting for a moment in that most admirable quality of human kindness. The Secretary for Scotland (Lord Pentland) said: 'My thoughts go back to a summer afternoon in the House of Commons nine years ago, when a great friend of art in Scotland, Sir John Stirling Maxwell, led Scottish members in a raid on the Exchequer on behalf of Scotland. On such occasions there is neither Highland nor Lowland, Whig or Tory: they are all of one mind. A Committee was appointed, and as a result of that debate we are now equipped with reasonably adequate funds, and with increased space. . . . As the art of a country must be shaped largely by its opportunities of studying the great masters, I hope that as time goes on, though our galleries may not compare in size with those of larger countries, in quality they may be unsurpassed. The least we can do as Scotsmen is to meet the munificence of nature; and what richer material could there be for the Royal Scottish Academy than the large inheritance we have in this country of hill and mountain, sea and river, unrivalled in the variety of its scenery; a country glorious in its history, appealing to us in its record of past days, a country where there still lives an intense patriotism.'

These words were true enough of Pentland himself, who had his father's enthusiasm for investigating and treasuring the stories and the relics left by figures of bygone generations. It was with great interest, therefore, that he read a book called *The Care of Ancient Monuments*, by Professor G. Baldwin Brown, LL.D., Watson Gordon Professor of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh, published by the Cambridge University Press in 1905, which gave a survey of what was being done by every other country in Europe, even Turkey,

towards the preservation of their ancient monuments. In this book, after speaking of the publications dealing with Scottish architecture and art, Professor Baldwin Brown said: 'If ever a national work of inventorization were set on foot, it is in Scotland that it might be started with the best promise of a satisfactory result.' Pentland discussed the question with Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael, Bart., afterwards Lord Carmichael, with Sir James Guthrie, P.R.S.A., with Sir Arthur Mitchell, K.C.B., a prominent member of the Society of Antiquaries, author of *A List of Travels and Tours in Scotland*, and other works, with Professor Baldwin Brown himself, and with others, and by February 1907 he had decided to appoint a Commission.¹ He made a very careful choice of the members, and in February 1908 the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland was appointed, with the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., F.R.S., as Chairman, and as Secretary Mr. Alexander O. Curle, W.S., F.S.A., now a member of the Commission and Director of the Royal Scottish Museum. Though originally an inventory only was contemplated, it was soon found that more could be accomplished and the scope of the Commission's work was enlarged. The staff has now been placed upon the permanent establishment. The Commission has already completed Reports on

¹ By the Royal Warrant's terms of reference, the Commission was 'to make an inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions connected with or illustrative of the contemporary culture civilization, and conditions of life of the people in Scotland from the earliest times to the year 1707, such as (1) sepulchral cairns and other burial places; (2) forts, camps, earthworks, brochs, crannogs, and other defensive works, either overground or underground; (3) stone circles and standing stones, and rock surfaces with incised or other sculpturings; (4) architectural structures, ecclesiastical and secular, whether ruinous or in use, including sculptured or inscribed memorials. And to specify those which seem most worthy of preservation.'

the counties of Berwick, Sutherland, Caithness, Wigton, Kirkcudbright, Dumfries, East Lothian and the Outer Hebrides, Skye and the Small Isles.

The South profited by the example of Scotland, for a similar Royal Commission was appointed for Wales in August 1908, and another for England in October 1908.

Mr. H. M. Conacher, now Deputy-Commissioner, Board of Agriculture for Scotland, who was from 1905 to 1909 Private Secretary to the Secretary for Scotland, writes of other work at the Scottish Office:

'Lord Pentland had very definite ideas about Scottish administration. He wanted Scotland to be governed according to Scottish ideas, and was never enthusiastic about the method of dealing with Scotland by applying a single legislative measure to Great Britain. He especially valued the presence in Parliament of members with a real knowledge of Scottish conditions. Although on the whole he did not think the time was ripe for what we might call "Scottish Home Rule" he was a great believer in administrative devolution. The transfer of part of the Scottish Education Department to Edinburgh was a step in this direction, and a further step was taken when for the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909 the central administration of the Housing Acts was transferred from the Scottish Office in London to the Local Government Board for Scotland, in Edinburgh.

'There was considerable distress through unemployment in 1908 and 1909 and emergency legislation was passed. Lord Pentland took a keen interest in the activities of the Distress Committees set up by larger Burghs under the Act, particularly in their schemes for employing people on land. He was also satisfied that something further would have to be done to improve housing in Scotland, and when the Small Landholders Act finally became law it contained a provision that the

Board of Agriculture could supply loans for cottars and crofters to improve their housing. Lord Pentland used to say that there were two classes of men with whom he had great sympathy, and these were miners and fishermen—hence his interest in the improvement of miners' housing; his experience on the London County Council had given him practical ideas on this question. His own mathematical turn inclined him to base the case for reforms on definite statistical information. He had got some way towards appointing a Royal Commission on Housing, but the actual appointment was made by his successor, and the Report of the Commission was one of the most useful documents ever produced in Scotland.

'As to patronage, Lord Pentland usually took a rather long time to make his academic appointments and explored the ground very thoroughly, consulting a number of advisers. In Scotland there has undoubtedly been a tendency, on the part of Liberals and Conservatives alike, to continue filling administrative posts on party lines, although Mr. Gladstone's Civil Service reforms of 1870 superseded this method. Lord Pentland certainly did his best to modify the habit of making these appointments the reward of political support; his policy seemed to be resented by some of his own party.

'There were at this time several controversial questions relating to the fisheries of Scotland. Trawling in the Moray Firth was forbidden there by the Fishery Board, but as it was doubtful whether this applied to foreign trawlers, British owners evaded the law by registering their trawlers abroad, and the catches were still landed at British ports. Lord Pentland felt very strongly about this; but as the Foreign Office did not wish prosecutions to be made, he introduced a Bill, which was passed in 1909, to prohibit the sale and landing at British ports of fish caught by the trawl in closed areas round the Scottish coast. In 1907 he introduced a Bill which

put the whaling industry under control, for the pursuit of whales had been started by Norwegian firms from whaling stations in Shetland and Harris, and herring fishermen in certain districts were afraid their catches might be affected. Round the Moray Firth herring fishermen were taking to substitute steam drifters for the old sail boats, and there was a demand for loans from the State to help fishermen to invest in the new boats or to add to the mobility of sail boats by auxiliary engines. Lord Pentland was interested in any openings for improving the position of inshore fishermen and he had been put on a Government Fisheries Committee shortly before assuming office; later on he made tours of the Moray Firth harbours to look into these questions, and in 1911 he sent a Committee to the Scandinavian fishing countries to report on the motor engines and the development of minor fisheries which had been adopted there.'

V

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND: IN SCOTLAND

IN Canada Sinclair had seen how much a Department of Agriculture could do for the industry. Though with far smaller funds, he now had to direct the endeavours of the Congested Districts Board to develop farming in those parts of Scotland where cultivation was most backward, and where the people were cut off from so many advantages. So he started and encouraged all possible means of helping them, such as local agricultural shows; methods for the improvement of live stock; the cultivation of vegetables, for instance by schools in Lewis; the extension of agricultural education, travelling demonstrations by teachers from agricultural colleges; a home in Aberdeen where Highland girls were trained in domestic economy, and so on. After he came into office, Sinclair had several talks on these questions with his friend, the Right Hon. Sir Horace Plunkett, F.R.S., etc., then Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture for Ireland. In sending a book, Sir Horace wrote: 'Personally I attach great importance to domestic economy teaching as part of the solution of the rural life problem.'

Land settlement was another purpose of the C.D.B., and since the Board was started in 1897, it had bought estates in several places; where the crofters did not wish to purchase they were allowed to stay as tenants and the

Board managed the estates. The want of land in Barra had caused raids from 1901 onwards, and in 1909, after a long chapter of agitation and anxiety, the island of Vatersay was purchased by the C.D.B. and divided into holdings. Among the larger public works carried out by the Board under Sinclair's authority were a new pier at Tiree; a long contemplated road on the east side of Skye; and the completion of the 'new' road from Stornoway to Carloway, unfinished since 1891.

In all these matters it was only on the spot that the Secretary for Scotland would decide what to do; as he wrote to me once: 'No doubt about it, go and see is the thing, much better than wait and see.' His *Alruna* was just the seaworthy boat for the purpose; without smoke or motor, like the ships his Viking ancestors had steered into the same harbours. These are some notes taken from a rough log kept each day on such cruises: '28th July, 1906 [the Saturday when the Land Bill was introduced]. The day of the session being over—the Caledonian day—speeches spoken and heard, and the creation of many months' thought and work disclosed—dashed to Waterloo and having reviewed the triumphs of the day got out at Southampton and aboard *Alruna* on a warm calm evening: without delay sailed out and anchored at East Lepe Buoy.' From Cowes a week or two later *Alruna* sailed up the East Coast past the castles on its rocky headlands, till she cast anchor first in St. Andrews Bay. After putting in to greet constituents at Ferryden (Montrose), and relatives at Aberdeen, and spending Sunday at Dunrobin, we were off the Ord of Caithness, and the sharp corners of the cliff road which Sinclair used to drive round as a boy in the stage-coach and four.

Log, 20th August: 'Passed Wick, and as we faced the Pentland Firth, a strong squall got up and blew hard in our teeth: slack water, so the 8 knot tide would soon be running against us; but tried to make Dunnet Head

and our port Thurso by the channel outside Stromness, opposite John o' Groats. Double-reefed mainsail, men balancing on end of boom and davits; topsail, mizzen and staysail already in. Started beating to Dunnet Head, seas washing over us as we plunged through the race. But wind and tide stronger each minute, and after two or three legs' vain beating had to bear away for Long Hope inside Hoy (Orkney), 7 p.m., light failing, maze of islands, almost a gale, rising tide. Dashed along for entrance between Cantick lighthouse and Switha Island but could not weather it, so had to go round between Switha and Flotta, tacking every few minutes, white line of surf breaking on a lee shore close by. Waves breaking also liberally over us—every one slithering and shouting, wind roaring, bitterly cold. At last into the haven 9 p.m., all cheerful, especially after whisky and tobacco for'ard and tapioca pudding aft.'

Stornoway, Lewis, 28th August: 'After inspecting some new C.D.B. houses, started on a "drive" with waggonette and pair. S. for S. silently aghast to find the Provost was taking us round the "quadrilateral", a tour of nearly 50 miles. Met many women with mutches, and bare feet, leading cattle and carrying huge creels of peat. Heard the children sing Gaelic songs at schools. Villages look as if they grew from the ground—the condemned "black houses" have walls of loose stones, turf ledge, curved thatch top, peat smoke rising out of cracks—no chimneys or windows, often three or four houses back to back. Went into one; on the left two sheep feeding from trough, hay and signs of cow overnight; peat fire in the middle, smoke out through roof. On the right, bench, two beds; father, mother, and wee child sitting there, 7 more at school, soon 8. Lots of fowls, dog, no partition, yet air of comfort. Beautiful crops of corn, reclaimed from land alongside buried in stones, or pooly peat moss. Lots of shielings. Came in

by unfinished (J. Chamberlain) new Carloway road, having driven and talked land, squatters, surplus people, economic holdings, stock, shows, herring fishing uncertainty, tweed, bursaries, roads, for 48 miles and enjoyed a splendid day. Back to *Alruna* 9.15—writing again till 3 a.m.'

'13th Sept.: Ran down the Sound into Oban, flying our R.H.Y.C. flags instead of R.Y.S., for the Royal Highland Regatta. Ashore at night, rigged out for the Gathering ball. Into the thick of Campbells, MacLeans, MacDougalls; afterwards cordial leave taking of all the chieftains who had united yesterday to apostrophize Land Bill; out in cutter, rippled past dark bows and sterns. 15th Sept.: Owner held cutter's tiller firm for the station, and *Alruna's* burgee dropped sadly down.'

At the Shows which he promoted in the Outer Islands Sinclair could observe progress, meet the crofters, and discuss matters with those in authority too; so he tried to attend them every year. For fulfilling engagements up and down the Long Island, steam does no doubt save time and tide, and these tours were often made in the Fishery Cruisers; (he paid of course for all the expenses of our maintenance while on board). The F.C. *Minna* (281 tons) was the cruiser working on the west coast. Captain Ronald Murdoch writes:

'While in command of the Fishery Cruiser *Minna*, I had the pleasing honour, on several occasions, of taking Lord Pentland around the Western Isles, while he was Secretary for Scotland. There were no motor-cars at that time, and these trips of inspection and inquiry were by no means "joy rides". Long drives in uncomfortable Highland conveyances over bad roads; long hard walks over heather moors and hills, in the proverbial Western Highland rains of August and September, he took it all in quiet and patient good humour; never showed annoy-

ance or any sense of discomfort or weariness. That was on shore. On the water it was the same—in the old smoky steam launch, or on the *Minna*. No matter the weather or time of day or night, if he had arranged to go somewhere on a duty, he just went. If I ventured to suggest that the weather was too bad or navigation dangerous in the dark, he would say in the kindest, and most apologetic manner, "Oh, please Captain, don't mind me, I'm afraid we must go." Nothing would stop him. Then his never-failing patience, and courtesy with fishermen and crofters. Never thinking of himself, he would spend hours listening to their complaints and troubles, and suggestions, putting aside the thought of the long return drive in the darkness and rain and perhaps a rough passage across the Minch or elsewhere. As I said, nothing would stop him if he thought he had a duty to perform or could oblige or help anyone. He would allow me to try and rescue him sometimes from importunate people, on the plea that we were bound to sail at a certain time, or that he had an important appointment; but it was seldom I could get him away. He was utterly fearless and never shirked a duty. I may mention just one incident showing his unwillingness to fail in an appointment. We were in Lochmaddy, and had been delayed in the manner described above, until 11 p.m. He had a meeting to attend the next day about 2 p.m. I think, and wished to be at Thurso in time to reach the place in time. Weather was bad and glass falling, with a N.W. wind, and I took the liberty of telling him that I did not think it prudent to go round Cape Wrath and along the North Coast in the weather we would probably get. He very kindly, but firmly, replied something in the manner I have already mentioned, and against my better judgment we sailed and had a rough time of it. A little more wind and sea and we might not have reached Scrabster Bay.'

This was a passenger's version: '2nd Sept. 1910: Hurried guests off to get out of Lochmaddy harbour. Minch-like and Wrath to come. Captain Murdoch last thing: "there'll be a good deal of sea." 3rd Sept.: Pretty rollsome till 3 a.m., then more so, crashings and bangings: 6.45 a.m. Cape Wrath, waves dashing fiercely on the headland as at 7 a.m. 1906. Tide always flows W.: hard roaring N.W. wind, fine turn-up. 12 noon, worse bangings about, wheel-chains rattled, rounded Holburn Head, breakers thrown back and rushing us along on their crest, past the "nasty ledge" into Scrabster Roads. Anchored after one or two attempts, with 2 anchors. S. cone hoisted. Drove to John o' Groats for the meeting—set down Mr. Simpson (the first officer) at the turning to his croft, as he finished a parting anecdote about the factor saying they might go to heaven but not build another story. . . . Heard s.s. *Queen of Aberdeen* detained by weather with fisher girls aboard—sent 2 tins of sweeties. Heard *St. Olaf* (mail-boat) did not dare to come in. Telegram from Chairman: "Much relieved to hear of safe arrival must have had a terrible time."

Out of sight, farthest West, was St. Kilda, with occasional trawlers and summer excursion steamers as its only links with the mainland. Log: 'Thursday, 6th August, 1908. Through mist to St. Kilda—landed and found all deserted till at the combined church and school, heard preaching in Gaelic—now loud and emphatic—now pleading. In "Main Street" the one row of cottages, no one but an ill boy and a lady from Loch Maddy who thought three times church on Fast Day too much and is going this evening. Next Sunday is the Sacrament. Then a red glint and people filed out, women all in Turkey red shawls, red handkerchiefs, white mutches on their heads, (young and old); glossy black hair and pink and white complexions. Saw the year's



HERRING FISHING AT URA FIRTH, ST. MAGNUS BAY, ON THE WEST COAST
OF SHETLAND



"MAIN STREET," ST. KILDA ISLANDS

babies, 6 months and 6 weeks; a boy of two ill, and the father begged us for some "loaf" for him. Gave two tins of sweeties to children—and steamed off, many wavings and whistles.' [These 7 lb. tins of sweeties were Sinclair's special idea, and were dispensed by him in many remote spots.]

'Stornoway, 7th August, 1908: 3 men-of-war in the harbour: a subaltern of Marines visited F.C. *Minna*:

Sub. (saluting with one finger): What yacht is this?

Capt. M.: Who wants to know?

Sub. (saluting with hand): Lieut. —— of H.M.S. *Sutlej*.

Capt. M.: She is not a yacht and she belongs to the King: she is a Fishery Cruiser (bewilderment of *Sub.*) and the Secretary for Scotland is on board.

Sub. What is he? (Silent compassion of Captain M.)'

'2nd Sept. 1910: Nunton Show, Benbecula: beautiful butter, eggs, scones, oatcakes, stockings, "druggets", yarn, tweed, horse collars, potatoes, a churn, etc. Judging at the "stance." 23 mares and foals and 150 horses entered; 2 rings full of splendid ponies, heaps of cows and calves. Aberdeen College butter demonstration. Bought prize tweed, and socks, drugget, and Macdonald tartan plaid woven by old Mrs. Macdonald for us since last year. At 3, a spread of Nunton lobster, chickens, cheese and scones. Past old chapel (Nunton = seventeenth-century nunnery) to see Mr. Neil Maclean's Ayrshire cows from Col with Polled Angus bull and young black calves—string of them came along, red, white and black on the emerald machair; beyond, white sands, dark blue Atlantic, big breakers, bright blue sky.'

'26th August, 1911: West Loch Roag. [W. Coast of Lewis] Mr. Morrison's lobster pond—250 put in to-day—6,000 there sometimes: sends up to 2,000 a week to Billingsgate. Passed a shieling in a circle of greenest turf, Highland cow grazing, and a bare-footed girl about 20,

who invited us inside. Crept through hole, and found it about 8' × 6' with heather bed, peat fire and a hole for combined chimney and window. Chinks in stone walls as shelves for comb, and Gaelic Bible. Piece of white heather, presented to us, also bubbling milk. She and two small girls have been there three weeks; she makes butter and cheese. Fourth visit to Standing Stones of Callernish, gaunt on their knowe, casting long shadows in sunset; round them the circle of lochs and mountains. Found next post leaves Callernish P.O. Tuesday [this being Saturday]. Passed garden of sweet peas and went in to Mrs. McLennan, spinning quietly by warm peat fire; "no English"—pretty gentle daughter; "I will be a rare hostess to Lord and Lady Pentland." All quiet on *Minna* till 9.30 p.m. when sudden tramping and commotion. Malcolm Macleod in his boat to warn of a trawler in Carloway Loch. Lights out every one: steam up and off in excitement of stealthy pursuit. Deck in darkness; S.W. wind blowing clouds across stars. All straining eyes and glasses into darkness; Captain M. sees something: is there a rock off there? nearer, just a blur. "That's him"; port and starboard lights on, megaphone out: "Trawler ahoy!": no answer. "I arrest you for illegal trawling": "Quick, on with the search-light"; boarding party despatched in cutter. Suddenly a white blinding ray and in the night beside us a trawler, red and black, mercilessly revealed; her numbers covered, funnel and side. Steam up, port a bit, to head her off; now our boat's party have boarded her. Searchlight off—turned in 1 o'clock. 27th August: Visited our trawler Captain—big and good-humoured, but rueful. Showed us the fish hole, boxes of cod, haddock and flounders packed in ice. About 80 boxes; full cargo 400 or 500. Has been 800 miles this trip and no luck; so as he would get sacked anyhow he came in here last night for first time and "at first haul lots of haddocks

and flounders—and then! got caught.” Has been on shore a twelvemonth with blow on forehead from a block: had to sell for £23 the piano he bought for £45: wife and five children in Aberdeen; felt so sorry for him! 28th August: Trawler followed us round the Butt of Lewis to Stornoway and was given 60 days or £100 (£80 for trawling, and £20 for covering numbers).’

‘6th October, 1911: *Minna* awaited us 10.30 p.m. Dunoon; when S. for S., after 9 speeches in 2 days, culminating in big evening political meeting with him as the speaker; uncontroversial speech on Land Bill, and policemen’s deputation afterwards; buzzed away in launch on fine night for *Minna*. Steam up at once and off away round Mull of Cantyre. Wind E. 7th October: In to Crinan to discuss deepening of Canal. 8th October: Vatersay; seeing new houses, and shipwreck monument, uncovered from sand by S. for S. last year. Short interview with the lady of “forcibility”—photos of fine Vatersay starks—sweeties. At 8.30 Father Cameron and Father McNeill of Eriskay, aboard for tea—catalogue of questions: E. side water supply, steamer freight, milk and eggs co-op., smiddy, etc. 9th October: Barra—at a school, found nice young lady teacher from Manchester instructing the lot; including babies with no word of English who were solemnly printing: I AM ON AN OX; sweeties. Crofter meeting in school—half-holiday to children. Sailed across to Canna in glorious sunset, pink, red, yellow round whole circle of horizon and blue mountains fringing it: North Uist, Benbecula, South Uist, Barra, Ben More in Mull, Rum ahead, the Cuchullins on port bow and Skye coast to Dunvegan. Passed Humela Rock, 7; heard afterwards Norwegian steamer struck it and sank this morning. 10th October, Broadford, Skye: No motor available, so walked 3 miles to marble quarries. 11th October: Uig Bay—to settle site for Kilmuir lodge. Up Staffin road

again for "5 minutes"—proved $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours—lunch 3.30. Portree 5.30, and calls. 12th October: Raasay, to inspect iron mines at full work. Kyle 5 p.m., off to train for Tain and Strathnaver.'

Orkney and Shetland had their demands too, and the Whitsuntide recess gave the chance for flying visits there, when the harbours were crowded with fleets of fishing vessels from all over Europe. In 1908, after inspecting the whaling stations of Shetland, we went on in F.C. *Freya* (280 tons) through big Atlantic seas to the Faroe Islands.

'June 4. Left London 8 p.m.

'June 5. Arrived Wick 5 p.m. Deputations: public meeting 8: evening party 10-11—aboard *Freya*—left

'June 6. for Kirkwall 4 a.m.

'June 7. Left 1 a.m. for Balta Sound—then Lerwick, Olna Firth, Ronas Voe; visited five whaling stations.

'June 10. To Faroe Is. past Diamond Islands—one with a farm and 20 people on top, who have to go up or down the 200 feet cliff by a rope to reach the houses on the top. Thorshavn all bright green turf roofs. English Consul here, arrived 3 months ago from Chicago. They get letters monthly. Saw Parliament House.

'June 11. Near to Foula so took a run round island—splendid cliffs 1,200 feet, looked at townships and place where slip is wanted. At Scalloway glut of herring, no curers and girls ready—1,000 crans wouldn't sell at any price and will be thrown away to-morrow. Whaling grievance knocked on the head. Saw Earl Patrick Stewart's castle and the kippering yard. Sailed at 8. Fitful Head, Sumburgh Head, the Roost and a head wind!

'June 12. Rattray Head 10—lots of Grimsby trawlers. To Peterhead—convict breakwater—prison—

convicts paraded, then went up in little train to work in quarries. Aberdeen—large bag of mails.'

In 1909 I was invited to launch a new Fishery Cruiser *Norna* (457 tons) at Dundee; the S. for S. wrote to me:

There was a young girl from Dundee
Who said she was fond of the sea
So just to amuse her
They built a new cruiser
And asked her on board to have tea.

In 1911 F.C. *Norna* took us from Aberdeen to Shetland and Orkney.

'June 14, 1911. Lerwick. Saw girls at work in fish-curing yards—then their quarters. Drive by Tresta, Walls, Sandness, Melby. Left for Balta Sound 11 p.m.

'June 15, 1911. Round North of Unst and Muckle Flugga, the most northerly light in British Isles: signalled to lighthouse keeper "Lord Pentland's best wishes, sorry can't come ashore." Reply: "Good landing, come." But: "No time, sorry, Good-bye." Postcard put in sealed bottle and dropped overboard. Lat. 60° 51' 45" North. Long. 0° 54' 50" West; 1 mile N.W. from Muckle Flugga L.H. in 44 fathoms of water.'

Besides these official expeditions there were cruises in his own yachts on the south coast in the summer, when he could snatch week-ends or a bit of the Parliamentary recess. Altogether between 1902 and 1911 Sinclair had sixteen cruises, eight in his own yachts and eight in Fishery Cruisers. During the 77 days he thus spent aboard Fishery Cruisers, they did 5,579 sea miles.

Much travelling on land was necessary too; again reckoning up totals, in one year, 1910 for example, the distance Pentland travelled on public business was over 13,000 miles. In that year there was one General Election in January, when he spoke at Yarmouth,

Croydon, Ipswich, Buxton, Manchester, Arbroath, Edinburgh, Grantham; and another in December, when he went to Lockerbie, Ayr, Glasgow, Croydon, Edmonton, Bournemouth, Newark, Huntingdon, Norwich, Ipswich, Millom, Dumfries, Saltcoats, Johnstone, Edinburgh, Carnoustie, Broughty Ferry, St. Andrews. He was in Orkney and Shetland at Whitsuntide; in the Hebrides during August; and out of September and October spent 34 days zigzagging between all quarters of the compass, such as Wick, Fraserburgh, Hawick, Skye, and intermediate points; with London and Dublin taken on the way.

He wrote to me from Oxford, 13th October 1910. 'Now you are quite puzzled! Admit it—be a man. But what is he doing at Oxford? Not hunting the Snark, but trying to get my tiresome agricultural development schemes on their legs. I had nothing particular to do in London this evening, so it occurred to me to come down here and have a talk with one Adams. So I wired to him about 4; just caught the 7.30 train, and from 9.15 till 11.20 p.m. we have had a very useful talk. . . . One more interview is necessary with a man Campbell in Dublin. I am tempted to go there tomorrow (Friday) night, see him Saturday morning, then back by Belfast on Saturday, get home (Aberdeenshire) Sunday. All this is just very tiresome shop: and I long to be done with it and get to humane existence at intervals.'

'New Club, Edinburgh,

'26th Oct. 1910.

'After arriving [by train from Aberdeen] and the necessary grooming which has to follow a cockcrow start, off in a taxi for a talk with Asquith. Bumped along the trams of "Portobello, Musselburgh and Dalkeith" through Aberlady, past the stately Gosford, Luffness,

and through Gullane, into the gates—modest gates—of Archerfield. Open door—no bell anywhere—large low darkish hall littered with coats and caps and rugs and wideawakes of many hues: a friendly caddie discovered the outside bell: and a footman appearing ushered me upstairs into an ante-room which seemed to me a moving mass of “Fair Women” and children: Asquith at last distinguished and Mrs. A., and after greetings I was abstracted from the coffee-drinking throng and taken by the P.M. into the dining-room adjoining and there lunched as a late comer and had some talk with him. A cigarette and a walk to the first tee completed our business and I rejoiced that his golf was not curtailed, for tho’ the sunshine of the morning had faded, the air was delightful. Altogether a pleasant interlude and here I am 4.15 having left 1.15. Kein Collars nöthig. La Blanchisseuse est arrivée. Love to the pets. For the alphabet try

P for Pomade to put on the hair,
Q for the second letter of Square.’

‘7th Nov. 1910. In 11.5 p.m. from Waverley. Saturday afternoon I spent in the office, then a prison reform dinner. My Sunday was heathenish: it began with Gulland at breakfast—a walk with Sutherland—then half-an-hour with Guthrie—McIntyre to lunch—an afternoon talk with a C.D.B. party—dinner with Kennedy. To-day—everybody in the way of Scott. Lib. members turned up to support [at Glasgow] the P.M. who came with Mrs. A. and Elizabeth: his reference to C.-B. I thought very just and true and discriminating. Back to New Club [Edinburgh], an hour with Walter Scott, an hour with Mackintosh, 1½ hours with Calderwood—Dodds and Angus Sutherland at dinner—B. of B. [Lord Balfour of Burleigh] at the next table, told me his latest stories.’

Some people really enjoy this racketing about; Sinclair did not. His health always suffered from it, and often on these trips he touched no food for days. He writes: 'Auf allen Gipfeln ist Ruh—instead of which—public life!' The prospect of every speech was a trial. After a meeting at Glasgow: 'Just returned from Torture No. 1.—must now cram up for students.' . . . Later . . . 'they were so enthusiastic that all went well.' He once wrote at New Year: '11.30 p.m. Hogmanay 1907:

'Think not I roama field
with heart untrue;
The gifts my rambles yield
are all for you.

New regions I explore
while day is light;
My heart with richer store
goes home at night.

You know that: but it is a lasting and continual sacrifice to put public business, so often, first: and I always think of Dr. Johnson's "Patriotism as a motive is the last refuge of a scoundrel!" for it is true that there must be so much *self* in it. I know it. And yet one must be so far as one can a "faithful servant".'

A daughter, Peggy, had arrived in 1905; a son, John, in 1907. Their father did not want them to grow up in London so they were often at the sea; in the summer we moved from Cambridge Square to Coombe Warren, Kingston Hill, though this meant his having to take a midnight train after the House and then walk up a mile. On Saturdays telegrams like this might come: July 20, 'Bob Reid and Alick Murray (i.e. Lord Loreburn, the Lord Chancellor, and the Master of Elibank, the Scottish Whip) are coming have tea strawberries and cooling potions 5 o'clock.' Social amenities were to Sinclair the natural and desirable outcome of work in common with

others: he was always planning hospitalities large and small for those who shared his duties and interests. His accounts show that in 1909, for instance, he gave four large and many small dinners to political and official associates in London; a river party to the messenger staff at the Scottish Office, two evening parties in Scotland attended each by fifteen hundred to two thousand guests, besides a good deal of private entertaining at home, costing altogether more than a third of the £2,000 salary received by the Secretary for Scotland. As his own income was less than the salary, it was only by care that he fulfilled the obligations he thought due to the office; he had strict views about economy both in public and private expenditure, though anything he did was done well.

Like other Cabinet Ministers, he had to appear at the State ceremonies and official occasions in London; and every year he stayed at Balmoral as Minister in attendance. On his first visit there he wrote:

‘Balmoral Castle, 24th September, 1906.

‘Here I am in a snug room, the walls covered with engravings of Wellington, Peel, grandfather Aberdeen, Dizzy, Mr. G. and largest of all, within 3 feet of my pillow, Rosebery. Your letter just handed to me by a gigantic footman, who with due gravity inquired if I knew that the post goes at 2.20.’

‘25th.

‘Programme 10.30 to Linn of Muick for deer drive: 1st carriage, King, nephew Arthur, and S. for S.; met the Prince of Wales and his two little boys there.’

As Secretary for Scotland Sinclair had become Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland and thus chief of the Officers of State who have the custody of the Scottish Regalia. Before 1707 England and Scotland each had a Great Seal, and the Act of Union provided that there

should be one for the United Kingdom and another for use 'in all things which only concern the kingdom of Scotland'. On it the Scottish Lion is always marshalled in the first and fourth quarter, the correct quartering, as the lion was the paternal arms of King James, used by his ancestors before the English used the leopards. A new silver seal is made for each sovereign, and when King Edward died in 1910, his Great Seal had again to be brought to London to be 'defaced' by King George giving it a tap with a hammer; it then became the property of Pentland, as Secretary for Scotland, and he gave it on loan to the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh.

In the following year he had to make all the arrangements for the King and Queen's Coronation visit to Edinburgh, and he was in attendance throughout the ceremonies of that week in July 1911. The King presented new Colours to the Royal Company of Archers (the King's Bodyguard for Scotland); inaugurated the Thistle Chapel at St. Giles's Cathedral, visited the Royal Scottish Academy in its new quarters, laid the foundation stone of the Usher Hall; besides holding many other inspections and state entertainments at Holyrood. At the military display in the King's Park some of the veterans appeared who had marched past Queen Victoria on the same ground at her Volunteer Review in 1860; the baby whom Captain and Mrs. George Sinclair brought there then had volunteered for his country too, and now stood beside the King as one of 'His Majesty's Servants' (the designation of Cabinet Ministers in the notices which summoned them to their meetings). On the day of the King's departure the Secretary for Scotland wrote to the Lord Provost: 'His Majesty has graciously commanded me to convey to you and through you to the general body of citizens, an expression of the unqualified pleasure which the Queen and he have derived from

their visit to Edinburgh . . . The King and Queen are delighted with the welcome accorded to them by all classes and they look forward with pleasure to coming again among their Scottish people.'

In the following year Pentland, who himself had been a Scottish Archer since 1888, wrote to the Council of the Royal Company of Archers: 'Their Majesties' visit to Edinburgh and residence last year at Holyrood after so many years, and the duties discharged by the Royal Company during the Royal visit must always be a source of pride to its members,' and he sent to the Royal Company as a memento the gift of a silver cock (the Sinclair crest). Lord Balfour of Burleigh, the President of the Council, wrote: 'Your gift was a kindly and generous act on your part and was much appreciated. We had a large dinner (the Edinburgh Silver Arrow Dinner) and the gift was put in a prominent place; much enthusiasm for you was the result.'

The greatest pressure of business could never keep Sinclair from finding some time in the day for reading. A lot of larger notebooks contain summaries of the books he read; in his fine, regular handwriting, every page clearly spaced and tabulated, and every volume indexed; another series of small pocket-books is filled with names and prices of all sorts of books to be remembered. At New Year he sent some interesting book to a number of friends in Forfarshire and elsewhere; to pass on the right book was in his mind the best good turn.

Who can *desipere*, as he called it, with such relish as the hardworked? I take an example from my diary: 'Saturday, June 18, 1910: Clock struck 1; J. looked up and said: Why not go to Ostend by the 2.20? Hurried pack, lunch, and taxi. Got our usual sheltered seat on boat facing stern—on till sunset, late owing to the tide; (lady sick behind a rug continuously); sand dunes and

Ostend 8.45 p.m. Along in *voiture*—selected first Splendid, then de l'Océan Hotel: rooms 6th floor, Escoffier supper. Sunday: tram to Middelkerke and Westende; tram to Blankenbergh and Knocke; train to Bruges for dinner; Ostend 11 p.m. Monday London.'

But throughout those years Sinclair's usual answer to any proposals of more leisure was: 'Wait till the Land Bill's through.' At length, on 16th December 1911, he was one of the five peers, in red robes, who acted as the Commission to prorogue Parliament and give the Royal Assent first to the National Insurance Act, and then to the Small Landholders (Scotland) Act 1911; '*Le Roy le veult.*' His children went to see the ceremony, and next day when their great-aunt, Lady Balfour of Burleigh, came to tea they caused much mirth by joyfully announcing 'The Land Bill's through!'; Lord Balfour of Burleigh having been an inveterate antagonist of the Bill throughout. After entertaining the Scottish Office messenger staff at Maskelyne's, in a few days Pentland was off to Edinburgh and busy planning the appointments and other effects of the Act; to celebrate its passing he invited people interested in agriculture all over Scotland to a party, and 1,500 accepted the invitation.

But the party never took place owing to unforeseen causes. He wrote from the New Club, 22nd January: 'Present intention to leave for London—"Ministers returning to town"—to-morrow.' Among the letters awaiting him in London was one from the Prime Minister, saying he was convinced that the Scottish Secretary ought to be in the House of Commons, and proposing that on vacating his present post Pentland should assume that of Governor of Madras.

Never was there a more unexpected missive. Three months before, in October 1911, the Cabinet had been reconstructed and Pentland was left in his office, one of the five members who remained out of the original

nineteen; now at last he hoped to carry out the purpose he had laid before them six years earlier. Instead of that, the reform which he had framed with such care, and for which he had laboured and fought so doggedly, was removed from his hands the moment it became law. Before the appointments had been made, or the working planned, before the measure had been guided to its intended usefulness in any direction, its motive force was taken away and its prospects blighted. During these years Pentland had encountered a storm of opposition to his land policy from the Conservative and landed influences, who avowedly did everything in their power against it. But almost equally baffling had been the resistance and hostility of powerful elements on the Liberal side, for whom the Bill set too rapid a pace of advance. Another grudge against Pentland in some quarters was his steady refusal to make appointments on political grounds. In Scotland, however, the Land Bill was exceedingly popular; it was acknowledged to be the main cause which after two General Elections had kept 60 seats for the Liberals out of 72 Scottish constituencies. In the party interest, therefore, it was impossible to get rid of the Secretary for Scotland before his Bill had been secured. So it was allowed to pass, in a form as weakened as possible, and immediately afterwards the blow was dealt. The arrangement was so quietly contrived that it came to Pentland and to all concerned as a complete surprise. *Adieu veau, vache, cochon, couvée!* The milkmaid's dreams of agricultural development were not more disastrously shattered.

Friends urged him not to go to India; it meant leaving all his interests, and the alternative of more lucrative work in the City, with more leisure, was not uninviting. But he was accustomed to put any public duty first, and after some consideration he wrote to Mr. Asquith, on 13th February 1912:

'In deference to your own strong wish, I accept Madras; and I can only hope that I may be happy enough to succeed in justifying in some measure your choice.' Mr. Asquith replied, 13th February: 'I am delighted that you see your way to go to Madras. Let me thank you once again, with all my heart, for the great services you have rendered to our party and the country during the last six years. They will always be remembered.' The following are one or two of the hundreds of letters which came when the change was announced. From Mr. J. L. Hammond: 'I am dreadfully sorry you are leaving the Government. Men of the right sympathies and right gifts are needed in India, but such men are very much wanted in the Cabinet too. It must be a satisfaction to you to feel that you are responsible for the most genuine and effective social reform that has become law during the lifetime of this Government.' From the Carlton Club: 'I hope I may be allowed as a Highlander interested in Scottish public affairs for the last 50 years to say that I am very sorry you are leaving the Scottish Office and that though I belong to the opposite party in politics I know well that our beloved Northern country has been well and faithfully served by you.' From Fife: 'When history comes to be written the importance of the principles contained in the Small Holdings Act and the steadfastness of purpose displayed in the long struggle against hostile forces in the country and lukewarm friends in the Commons will be more fully recognized. I have a sense of personal loss in your going which is shared by a great many other small people whose feelings you will never know. Your Small Holdings Bill turned me from a passive Liberal voter into an active Liberal worker; and you have done me the greatest kindness in leaving on my mind the lasting impression of a man unfailingly good, kind and just.' From a large farmer in the West:

'It is nothing short of a calamity to rural Scotland. . . . Every great measure of freedom and justice will have its martyr. A mighty work has been initiated but a great deal depends on its administration—the right head would be of such untold benefit especially during the first few years . . . for the country is the cradle of the nation.' From a C.D.B. property: 'Your Lordship's interest in this estate, and the personal trouble taken to smooth difficulties and promote the interest and well-being of the tenants are simply indescribable. Every claim and grievance and everything which aimed at the well-being of your countrymen seemed to attract your interest.' From an official: 'The announcement was a stab—I can't think of Dover House without you.' From a University Principal: ' . . . You are a great favourite with the officials . . .' From the Town Clerk of Edinburgh: ' . . . it was a great pleasure to serve under your administration. . . . I have such a sincere admiration for the work you have done for Scotland and especially for Edinburgh, and gratitude for your constant kindness, that your going away causes a keen sense of personal loss.' From the Secretary of the Scottish Liberal Association: 'I have never been associated with anyone during my official connection with the party who has so whole-heartedly and disinterestedly worked for the cause of progress.' The freedom of Edinburgh was conferred on him and a correspondent wrote in the *Westminster Gazette*: 'The immediate and unanimous resolve of the Edinburgh Town Council to confer the freedom of the city on Lord Pentland is a happy recognition of the retiring Minister's popularity in Scotland and of the services he has rendered to the country. One of the most self-effacing of men . . . the general public has had little opportunity of gauging his strength in consultation and his still greater strength in action.' The *Manchester Guardian* said: 'In the Cabinet

Lord Pentland could always be reckoned upon as an upholder of the more essential as opposed to the more opportunist conception of Liberal responsibility. But even more important is his service to a constructive social policy in the preparation and final passing into law of the Scottish Land Act. So sweeping a measure naturally provoked hostility, but the Government after all made themselves collectively responsible for it, and politically it has served them well. Scotland is the one part of Great Britain where the Liberal forces remain as in 1906, and that result is due to Lord Pentland's policy.'

For the early summer of 1912 he took the island of Rousay in Orkney; he fished the trout lochs and sailed round the cliffs where myriads of birds were nesting. Late on 24th June, a Midsummer Night as clear as day, he was returning home in a launch, past the islands that strew the sound between Kirkwall and Rousay, and saw the seals flocking along by the Hen of Gairsay towards Sule Skerry and the Holm of Boray.

There amid the circling waters,
Boray Isle lies all alone;
Silent ever, save at nightfall
On the eve of good Saint John.

It is said that the seals are the souls of the departed who may meet at Boray on Midsummer Eve, the eve of St. John, until the bell of St. Magnus' Church in Egilsay chimes midnight.

Four months later, fifty degrees farther south, he was crossing the Indian Ocean, and now the waves were alive with flying fish. Early on 24th October he watched the ship's ensign being dipped in answer to a signal from the lighthouse on the coral island of Minicoy, the first bit of India and of the Madras Presidency.

VI

MADRAS

AFTER thirty-two days' passage from Tilbury, P. & O. s.s. *Simla* anchored in the Bay of Bengal, off the lights of Madras City, on the night of 29th October 1912. Up till a few years before this would have meant a precarious landing on the beach from 'masulo' surf-boats. But through the efforts of Sir Francis Spring, K.C.I.E., Chairman and Chief Engineer of the Port Trust, the new Madras harbour had been opened for all shipping in 1910, and to use it was one of the reasons for coming by this route. Early on 30th October, the ship came in alongside the quay and the new Governor of Fort St. George drove off to Government House.

In 1639 Francis Day had obtained from the Raja of Chandragiri a grant of this strip of seashore, and had there founded Fort St. George, the earliest important settlement of the East India Company. Under its shelter grew up a large town, and in pleasant outlying positions the British merchants built their spacious 'Garden-houses'. One of these, near the sea on the south of the river Cooum, was bought by the Company in 1753 as a place where the Governor might seek retreat from the crowded fort in hot weather. After 1802, when Edward Lord Clive improved the house and built the Banqueting Hall, the original Governor's house in the Fort was used for secretariat offices, and the Garden House became Government House. So, in 1821, at Sir

Thomas Munro's suggestion, the Government bought Guindy Lodge as a country residence for the Governor, with a park which was later enlarged to an extent of nearly 4,000 acres. Sir Thomas wrote from there to Lady Munro in 1823: 'I miss the little feet of Campbell pattering about the floors;' 'Campbell' was afterwards Sir Campbell Munro, Bart., of Lindertis; and Pentland remembered with pleasure knowing him and his brother Sir Thomas as kindly constituents in Forfarshire.

Guindy lay six miles south-west of Madras, on the way to St. Thomas's Mount; the banyan trees along the road formed a great dark cool arched vista of shade, and down it passed a varied procession of Indian life. Like Government House, Madras, and the other older buildings there, the Guindy house was faced with the famous Madras *chunam*, made of shells, a plaster like polished white marble, which shone most beautifully of all perhaps by the incandescent moonlight of those parts. The park and gardens of Guindy, its flowering trees and spring evenings under the Southern Cross, and the life of a Governor altogether, are described exactly in the Right Hon. Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff's entertaining *Notes from a Diary* 1881-1886. And vivid portraits of the actual figures Pentland saw round him, painted by the Hon. Lady Lawley, are reproduced in colours in the book on *Southern India* by Mrs. Penny (A. & C. Black, 1914).

In the eighteenth century struggles for supremacy between different races and alliances, European and Indian, had been waged to and fro over the south of India; but the disturbances of the nineteenth century took place in the north, and Madras became a peaceful province, known for its efficient administration and its law-abiding inhabitants. At the end of 1912, it is true, a certain buzz of discussion as usual preceded the arrival

of a Royal Commission. This one of 1912 was to inquire into the recruiting and conditions of all the Public Services in India (more than twenty in number), and the sittings began in Madras. Lord Islington, the Chairman, the Earl of Ronaldshay, M.P., Sir Valentine Chirol, Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., and Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., among the members of the Commission, arrived to stay at Government House, and Pentland wrote to the Secretary of State, the Marquess of Crewe, in January 1913: 'The sittings have drawn large audiences daily . . . there have been one or two sharp passages. . . . On the other hand, personally the members without exception have made friends. . . .' Mr. G. K. Gokhale, the enlightened leader of progressive opinion in India, and the founder of the Servants of India Society, was another member of the Commission, and Pentland had several talks with him about what might be achieved by the new elective Morley-Minto Councils; the second election under the Act of 1909 had just taken place. After one conversation he notes: 'Gokhale disapproves the tendency of centralization in the Government of India; thinks that the provinces, especially Madras and Bombay, should have greater liberty of development; sanitation, education, and development of agriculture and agricultural credit are the most pressing problems. . . .'

The Commission and other visitors, including Mr. E. S. Montagu, then Under-Secretary for India, moved north early in 1913 and the Government went on with its regular work. Sir John Atkinson, K.C.S.I., writes: 'From October 1912 until July 1914, when I retired from the service, I was in daily communication with Lord Pentland as member of his Executive Council. His previous experience of administration enabled him very quickly to familiarize himself with the Indian system in such ordinary subjects as Education, Police,

Medical and Sanitary Departments, Forests, Local and Municipal Boards; and even the more technical and specialized subjects of Irrigation, Excise and Land Revenue were mastered in essential principles with a quiet facility that surprised us permanent officials. Inevitably in these, to him entirely strange, branches of administration he was largely dependent on the advice of experts; but he never surrendered himself into their hands, always made certain of mastering the points in issue, and never failed of shrewd and searching comment and suggestion. The principal subject with which I had to deal was Land Revenue, including Survey and Settlement, and even here where a lifetime's study and experience could hardly give complete comprehension, I found Lord Pentland's comments helpful because he quickly grasped general principles and their applicability to particular cases. Medical and Sanitary administration, another subject in my portfolio, was a comparatively simple matter in which Lord Pentland was at home from the first, and in which he took the keenest interest. He realized at once the crying wants of the country, and hastened to encourage every scheme that showed promise of relieving sickness and suffering. Large programmes for the development of medical services, including the construction of new and the enlargement of existing hospitals; grants in aid on an unprecedentedly liberal scale to private institutions, including small medical missions; a large increase in nursing establishments both Government and private—all this and more was initiated in the first eighteen months of his administration. His knowledge of parliamentary procedure was invaluable to the Legislative Council, at that time just emerging from swaddling clothes. There was not a single member, official or non-official, who had any acquaintance, except what could be gathered from handbooks and treatises, with House of Commons practice

and procedure. Lord Pentland smoothed away all difficulties. The President of the Legislative Council was naturally and of course bound to be impartial, and in that respect Lord Pentland was a shining example. His rulings on such matters as the admissibility of questions or resolutions were, as was inevitable, often unpalatable to the non-official and elected members, but I never heard any member of the Legislative Council question the propriety of His Excellency's rulings.¹ . . . These few notes, while totally inadequate to give any idea of the placid efficiency with which Lord Pentland carried on his manifold duties, have revived for me memories of a delightful association in official work, and of a friendship which will always be fragrant.'

As Sir John Atkinson remarks, Pentland often offered comments and suggestions. For instance, he wrote to the Secretary of State on 20th March 1913, saying that the death-rate for Madras city was higher than that of any city in India, 42 per 1,000 for the year before. 'For some years past it has not been customary for the medical officer of public health to make to the Corporation an independent report . . . it is said that the discontinuance was due to economies in printing intro-

¹ The meetings of the Legislative Council opened like the House of Commons with questions, called in Madras interpellations. Sometimes there were two or three hundred of these, and then the Council went on to discuss legislation and resolutions on every kind of subject. To take one Madras Council meeting at random (April 1917), the topics were as follows: New Rules of Procedure, Sub-Registrars' Transfers, Sheristadars of District Courts, Elementary Education, Vernacular Scientific Literature, Indigenous Medicine, Economic Condition of Villages, Grants for Education, Local Fund Code, District Board Presidents, Plague Charges, Meetings of Council, Survey Stores, Food for Railway Passengers, The General Hospital, Irrigation Cess Act, Village Panchayats, Agency Tracts, Quarantine Restrictions, Advisory Boards on Industries, Colair Lake, Transfer of Offices, Kistna Delta, Estates Land Act, C.I.D., Resettlement Schemes, Cultivation of Backyards. These are just some examples of matters which were dealt with by the Administration.

duced at the instance of Simla . . . in any case it seems desirable to renew the practice . . . I have been visiting various parts of the city and a demi-official letter is being sent to the Corporation.' The D.O. gives H.E.'s comments on the death-rate (among infants under one year 305 per 1,000), malaria, overcrowding, open drains, slaughter-houses, etc., and suggests the employment of district nurses and inspectors. In June a paragraph in the *Madras Mail* said: 'The campaign against the malaria epidemic has now been in progress four months. . . . It was, we believe, H.E. the Governor who took the initiative in having women nurses included in the special malaria staff, and we are glad to say that H.E.'s anticipations have been more than realized.' At the Sanitary Conference in Lucknow in the following year, the Chairman spoke of the value of district nurses for malaria, proved by their pioneer work in Madras; at that time Pentland was trying to add a scheme for the training of midwives and a Milk Depôt for Madras.

To Mr. J. Chartres Molony, I.C.S., then President of the Madras Corporation (who has graphically described the Presidency in *A Book of South India*, Methuen, 1926), he would send chits such as this: 'Would it not be possible to obtain the facts as to the milk supply of Madras; from what distance does it come . . . how much provided by cows, how much by buffaloes, at how many seers per rupee, . . . adulteration . . . dirt . . . what percentage of cows kept in dwelling-houses, on verandahs, in compounds . . . organization for sale. . . .' Another time Mr. Molony said at a Corporation meeting that after visiting some model parcherries where the structures were too expensive to be copied on a paying basis, the Governor suggested they might take up and measure some vacant ground, settle what class of people they wanted on the site, then call for designs of huts to be constructed at

a cost that would pay, and H.E. promised a prize for the best design.

During the hot weather the Government had its headquarters at Ootacamund. Sir Thomas Munro, who was the first Governor to see the Nilgiri Hills, wrote to Lady Munro in September 1826: 'The ride (from Kotagiri) was beyond comparison the most romantic I ever made. . . . Before reaching Sullivan's house, we came upon the highest ridge of the Nilgiris, rising in general above eight thousand feet, and many of the peaks from 8,300 to 8,800 feet which is the elevation of Dodabet, the highest of them all. . . . We dismounted on the top of the ridge, and ascended a hill about 300 feet above it, from whence we had a view so grand and magnificent, that I shall always regret your not having seen it. We saw all over Coimbatore, a great part of Mysore and Wynnaad, and the hills of Malabar. But the district of Ootacamund, every spot of which lay below us like a map, surprised me most. . . . It is composed of numberless green knolls of every shape and size, . . . and there is hardly one of them which has not on one side or the other, a mass of dark wood, terminating suddenly as if it had been planted. . . . It is now two o'clock, the thermometer 62. I am writing in a great coat, and my fingers can hardly hold the pen. I am almost afraid to go to bed on account of the cold. . . . Our party are no doubt more susceptible to it, from being relaxed by a journey of two months in tents, with the thermometer generally from 95 to 101. The brightness of the sun here is very remarkable. You have, I think, noticed the brightness of both the sun and the moon at Madras, but you can have no idea how much greater it is here.'

Since then the value of 'Ooty', an island of British atmosphere hung above the Indian plains, had been gradually understood, and after 1870 the Madras

Government was transferred there from April to October every year. Government House was built by the Duke of Buckingham between 1876 and 1880, after the pattern of his own Stowe House, and after that the Governor always moved up for the hot weather to Ootacamund, about 350 miles from Madras. Several special trains conveyed his patriarchal following of staff, band, clerks, servants of all kinds, with their families, between five and six hundred souls, besides nearly a hundred horses from the stables; the cows of the dairy took their leisurely way by road. Writing home about Ooty in 1913, Pentland said: 'Almost a keen October air and much in the scenery to remind one of Scotland.' He gave the name of The Shieling to a log hut which he got put up for his children on a hill near the place where Munro came over the ridge, with the same 'grand and magnificent view', though there were now new woods of blue gum and acacia, first planted, for firewood, about 1863; and houses had been built on the sides of the hills and valleys which Munro had seen 'only inhabited by Todas, a pastoral tribe'.

While the Government were packing up for Ooty in 1913, Pentland went to Calicut, on the Western Malabar coast, where Vasco da Gama had anchored in 1498. It was the hottest season there, and the Military Secretary, Captain Allanson (now Lieut.-Colonel Allanson, D.S.O., C.I.E.), wrote to me from there, 15th April: 'This is exactly like a Turkish bath: how people work in such a climate I cannot imagine. We sail at 6 to-night: H.E. was to have gone on board at 11.30 and rested; instead he is now off to the Leper Asylum and the Power Works, so we shall probably not be on board till 5.30. The *Madras Mail* reporter who has toured for twenty-one years with seven Governors says he has never had quite such a doing: now we are just off to the feeding of the poor.' At Calicut, Pentland found R.I.M.S. *Hardinge*

was about to take the local officials on their annual inspection of the Laccadive Islands, which lie 220 miles west of Calicut and have no post, telegraph or other means of communication. So he arranged to go too, and thus was the first governor to visit these St. Kildas of the Presidency, which had greeted him in the distance on the way out from home. He wrote to Lord Crewe: 'They are simply low coral islands covered with coco-nut palms, which constitute the whole property and earnings of the inhabitants. In religion they are Mappillas: on Kalpeni, for instance, there are about twenty mosques. Minicoy differs curiously from the other islands in the customs of its women who are not there as elsewhere strictly purdah. This is said to be due to the more frequent and longer absence of the Minicoy men, some of whom have recently accepted employment as sailors. . . . And on Minicoy there are recognized and separate meeting places for men and women for social purposes, in fact clubs. These clubs are naturally the centre of gossip and discussion and are gradually exercising an influence which may be described as democratic and is not always in accordance with the views of the Karnavans or Elders who with the Amin have hitherto enjoyed undisputed authority.'

In the newspaper account of the visit, the reporter said that 'Going through the village at Androth, His Excellency was addressed by various sections of the villagers, who desired him to visit this or that portion of the village, and consequently in his desire to please so hospitable a people, Lord Pentland's visit was most exhaustive. Much to the delight of the people, he took photographs of various groups and scenes. It was only when he asked about their prosperity that they looked sad and troubled: when he pointed to the rich brightly-coloured clothes of the elders, he was assured that those were worn as a custom on great occasions.'

At Minicoy the whole population collected at the cutcherry to see what a Governor was like, and the kist, or annual rent to the Government, was brought and paid over with due ceremony. The independent Minicoy ladies, dressed in red gowns, came past in a long queue, one after the other, to sprinkle scent on the visitors and present their *nuzzurs* of sherbeth, betel and pan. The men of Kalpeni island conveyed the party ashore in surf-boats, and showed them a rat hunt in the tops of the coco-nut palms. Crews of about twenty oarsmen raced past doing feats of rowing in their long 'snake-boats'.

In August 1913 Pentland got another whiff of the sea, when he sailed in a B.I. boat from Madras, and up the Hughli to Calcutta, on his way to visit the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, who had by then practically recovered from the wounds caused by the bomb that so startled all India the Christmas before. The journey to Simla meant going, as Pentland wrote to Ireland, 'as far as from Dublin to Cairo'; but the trip gave him the additional pleasure of visits to his friends Lord Carmichael, Governor of Bengal, and Lord Willingdon, Governor of Bombay. On the way he spent a characteristic day in Madras: arriving at 7.30 a.m., he went off to see the malaria doctors and nurses (started by him after various difficulties) at work; and wells where Indian medical students fished out anopheles mosquito larvæ with nets, and an orphanage where the children who had malaria the year before were now free. The death-rate and splenetic index in that bad district had both fallen. Back to breakfast at 10, he had interviews continuously till 5, and from 5 till 7 walked round the new servants' quarters in the compound; after dinner he had an evening party for all officials then in Madras. This, in a temperature of about 102° in the shade, was his way of dismissing the effects of a bad attack of pneumonia.



DEPUTATION OF MINICOY WOMEN, LACCADIVE ISLANDS



SNAKEBOAT AT MINICOY

In November 1913 their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge came to Madras: as Pentland wrote to Lord Crewe, 'a short but crowded visit which gave us particular pleasure I need hardly say, and has I think left an excellent impression in Madras'. On his way the Viceroy visited Mysore, and for the occasion H.H. the Maharaja arranged a kheddah or elephant hunt. Pentland had heard about the Scottish Zoological Park which had been laid out on modern principles by Professor Patrick Geddes and Mr. F. C. Mears and opened in the beautiful grounds at Corstorphine Hill House, Edinburgh, that July 1913, and he suggested to the Maharaja that it might be greatly appreciated if he were able to offer the Park an elephant from those he expected to secure. His Highness kindly consented to do so, chose a young elephant, as young ones do best to send home, and provided one of his highly trained men to accompany her. Pentland made the arrangements for the journey, and when an estimate for a ton of rice arrived, the office was aghast at this allowance for one man! It turned out, however, to be part of the correct baby provender for 'Sundra', who reached Edinburgh in April 1914. Though then she only measured 4 feet 9 inches, a small saddle was made, and she carried round two children at a time; now she takes eight or ten and is about 9 feet high. She is not full grown yet, so for many more years young Scots, mounted on her back, may imagine themselves swaying through a South Indian jungle.

Scotland was certainly not forgotten in Madras. Early on Sunday mornings Pentland went, by way of the old weavers' quarter of Chintadripet, to 'the Kirk', as it was known there, or St. Andrew's Church, the place of worship for members of the Church of Scotland. It was built by de Havilland in 1818, and is famous for its tall spire and white chunam pillars; it has indeed been

called 'the most beautiful church in India'. The chief Europeans in Madras were not all Scots, but the St. Andrew's Day dinner seemed to be acknowledged there almost like an official celebration. Presiding that year, the Governor said: 'I am sure you will all agree as Scotchmen and those interested, that it is from our own history and tradition that we draw that sympathy with other people of the earth which is the true secret of modern Imperialism. There is not one of us who would not be proud to stand up in such an assemblage and propose this toast, the land of our birth, the land of our fathers, the land we see in our dreams—Scotland.'

Sir Alexander G. Cardew, K.C.S.I., Chief Secretary to the Madras Government 1912-14 and Member of the Executive Council 1914-19, writes: 'To a man of Lord Pentland's character there was something peculiarly appealing about the Indian population committed to his charge. The great, tranquil, patient masses of the people, engaged in the task of wringing a scanty subsistence out of the naturally infertile soil of the peninsula, affected his sensitive imagination. He realized, almost from the first, that what the country needed was not political nostrums but economic progress. He knew how essential extended education and increased capital were for the advancement of a backward, though industrious, population. He set himself at once to forward the industrial development of the Presidency and to promote, by all the means in his power, the spread of education in all its aspects.'

The Governor was one of an Executive Council of four members, each of whom controlled certain branches of the administration; he himself always had charge of the political department, which deals with native states, and usually of another, such as public works, as well. Pentland was the first governor, at any rate the first in recent years, to choose the portfolio of education. He

wrote to Lord Crewe in February 1913: 'I have been doing what I can to understand the position of educational administration in this Presidency, but until we know what money will be available it is impossible to frame our policy.' He perceived at once that the first need was to make further provision for elementary education; and before he left the number of village schools had risen from 26,000 to 32,000, and the number of pupils from 1,246,000 to 1,583,000. But there were in Madras 6,000,000 children of school age, and Pentland's desire was to frame a law which should do for Madras something of what the 1870 Education Act did for England. To this end he laboured unceasingly, and he summoned conference after conference of the leading educationalists of South India in order to shape the outlines of the required legislation.

Soon after his arrival in December 1912 he made notes of an interesting talk on education with Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair. Six years later, in December 1918, Pentland wrote to Sir Sankaran Nair, then Member of the Viceroy's Council: 'You will be interested to know that our Elementary Education Bill is now ready, and will be despatched to the Government of India in a week's time. For our part we regard its financial provisions as vital. And . . . I hope that the Bill, which is the product of prolonged and careful consideration with non-officials as well as officials, may meet with acceptance.' The Bill, which became law in 1919, constituted largely non-official district educational Councils—Pentland made a point of this progressive feature—who should survey and control all forms of elementary education whether carried on by local boards or voluntary agencies. Another difficulty had been lack of funds; so municipal councils and local boards (= Borough and County Councils) were empowered to levy special taxes for education, and an equivalent grant was guaran-

teed by the Government. Free and compulsory elementary education was also made possible under certain conditions.

Secondary education was also extended during these years. Hitherto it had been given only in a few centres, on grounds of economy, and many of the pupils had to come away from their homes to board in a crowded town. Pentland was opposed to this system, under which boys were deprived of home influence in their early years and which had the effect of making schools and classes unduly large, and he decided to open secondary schools in a large number of places so as to bring secondary education nearer the homes of the boys. In 1918 as many as 70 new secondary schools were opened by local bodies, the cost being met by the Government, and the number of boys in 1918-19 was 143,000 compared to 106,000 in 1912.

Sir Henry Stone, K.C.I.E., Director of Public Instruction in Madras 1914-19, writes: 'Physical culture and hygiene have admittedly received too little attention in Indian schools and Lord Pentland did his utmost to combat this. With the help of an Imperial grant, he carried out a scheme for the provision of playgrounds, so that in 1916-17 fifty-three mufassal schools and most of the high schools in the Madras city had been supplied with playgrounds, and to make these more useful he appointed a Director of Physical Training, who trained instructors and classes. In addition to these, on his initiative, a playground for poor children was opened in North Georgetown. Its success was immediate and striking. This was just before I left Madras and I do not know how far the movement spread. In the second place he brought up the question of medical inspection of schools and insisted on a beginning being made with the schools of the Madras Corporation. Of course difficulties were urged, such as expense and possible

objections of parents and terror of children, but the Governor insisted on the experiment being made and the report on the inspections amply proved their necessity. After Lord Pentland had left Madras it was sought to make such inspections an ordinary part of school administration by providing grants in aid of it.

'A weak point in the education of Europeans was that it was too purely literary. Lord Pentland helped to remedy this. He supported the establishment of St. George's Homes for poor children of British origin, intended to train them for work on the land in the Colonies or on the Indian Hills. Perhaps, however, the development that owed most to his personal support and encouragement was the Special Subjects' Training Centre. This was for training teachers in Domestic Economy, manual occupations, physical exercises and singing. For years the buildings of a long abandoned Children's Hospital had stood empty, and although another Department applied for them Lord Pentland assigned them to the Centre and caused funds to be provided for the necessary instructors. The Centre was a great success and did much to give a more practical turn to the work of European schools. Lord Pentland attended the first meeting of the Presidency European Schools Athletic Association, which was held at the Centre in 1917, before the largest gathering of those interested in Anglo-Indian education that had ever assembled in Madras.

'Lord Pentland made a point of coming into personal touch with as many people as possible concerned with education. When on tour he would summon to meet him the local educational officers of every grade from the inspector to the supervisors of elementary schools. The Governor heard all they had to say, and if their schemes for solving administrative problems were not very practical he obtained in this way an insight into the

difficulties that had to be faced. He also helped and encouraged more formal conferences. He would say 'Now, Stone, what can I do for these people?' He would sometimes preside at the opening session, as in Madras in 1916, and always entertained the members socially. He made a point of visiting colleges and schools of every kind from the Presidency College down to the most wretchedly housed elementary school for the depressed classes. I remember once at Salem how he departed from the official programme to visit the Girls' School, ignoring the absence of police and other arrangements; I need not dwell on the intense pleasure these visits gave to teachers and pupils. In regard to the depressed classes, one difficulty was that in many places their children were not admitted into the public schools. After detailed investigation Lord Pentland issued an order impressing on local bodies the duty of considering and removing the disabilities of the depressed classes, and since then the position has distinctly improved.

'In higher education, there was during Lord Pentland's administration a striking extension of Government's educational activities. Colleges at Coimbatore, Tellicherry and Palghat were taken over by Government. A new College was opened at Anantapur in the backward area of the Ceded Districts. The Madrissa school for Muhammadans was made a college. Other secondary schools for Muhammadans were taken over and new ones opened. A Commercial Institute was provided for Madras and a new Engineering School at Vizagapatam. All these things of course cost money and one sign of Lord Pentland's liberalism was his contempt for penuriousness in education. Before he left the total annual outlay on education had risen from 157 lakhs to 248 lakhs of rupees.'

Pentland always thought of people as individuals, and he wanted to improve conditions for each student of the

Madras University, which was a purely examining body with affiliated colleges all over the province. In a 'G.O.' to all Government Colleges he pointed out the lack of that corporate feeling which is seen in British universities, and besides encouraging games and societies among the students themselves, directed 'that each student should be assigned to a member of the staff who will be regarded as his tutor,' and who would be ready to see and advise him every week. There was also a need for hostels, and in January 1914 Pentland summoned the Principals of Colleges to discuss proposals which were carried out by a larger Government grant. For Madras city he conceived the idea of a Students' Union or Club, where the many hundreds of students collected there, often living in miserably inadequate lodgings, might find a centre for social intercourse, reading, games and exercise, and where they could get wholesome meals at a moderate cost. He threw all his energy into this scheme, finding a site in Georgetown, the quarter where most students lived, and supervising the plans for the reading-rooms, debating hall, gymnasium with the latest apparatus, and the different kitchens and dining-rooms necessary in India for different sections of students.

As Governor, Pentland was Chancellor of the University, and took great pains in making appointments to the Senate. He always tried to secure distinguished men to come and give the address at the annual Convocation, where the University was manifest in full force. It was a fine audience for a speaker and a fine sight for an onlooker. From a dais in the Senate hall, the Chancellor, wearing his violet robes and surrounded by the whole Senate in their various gowns and uniforms, saw facing him about twelve hundred keen-eyed young graduates; then he bowed to each of them in turn as they all came past to receive the coveted degrees.

At the first of these ceremonies, in November 1912,

among the men there were nine women who came up to receive their degrees too. Each of them got a special cheering, and no wonder, for they had accomplished their object after difficulties greater even than those encountered by pioneers in Europe. Pentland had soon felt how great an obstruction to progress in India lay in the condition of its women, and forthwith took practical action towards, as he wrote, 'raising the standard of aspiration and attainment among those who are to train the families of the future. The seclusion in which many women in this country live and the social customs and prejudices make it specially necessary to provide:

'1. Education and training for women teachers, doctors and nurses, for whom there will be a permanent demand.

'2. Education is no less desirable for those whose strength and time will be devoted to their own families, in order to enable them to understand what is going on in modern India, how to keep their homes and bring up their children under modern conditions.'

In 1915 he had a conference on secondary education for girls and new high schools were opened for them. But in India at this time there was no residential college for women solely devoted to University courses in arts and science; and Pentland determined that all Madras girls should have the chance of going to one if they wished.

Sir Henry Stone writes: 'Probably the most important of Lord Pentland's new developments was the opening of Queen Mary's College for Women. He took the keenest interest in every detail of its establishment, and took great pains to find a site for it. I well remember his getting out of the train from Ootacamund in the early morning and driving half over Madras before breakfast inspecting suggested sites. The one eventu-

ally chosen was not what Lord Pentland would have preferred, but there was a house on it in which the college could be started at once and other fine buildings have been added, the first of which was opened by him. I sketched a plan for the main building in which I tried to combine efficiency with economy, but Lord Pentland would have none of it. The rooms were too small and the development of the college would have been cramped. Somehow money was found for an adequate structure, with the result that Queen Mary's College buildings are, or will be, second to none in the Presidency. The college has succeeded beyond expectation and Lord Pentland's selection of the Principal has been amply justified.'

The College opened in July 1914, with 35 students and the numbers rose beyond all expectations to an average strength of about 200. The students have come from all sections and districts. A Jain girl from Ahmedabad was sent to the College after her grandfather had travelled to inspect all the possible institutions in India. In 1926-7, the students of the College classified according to race numbered: Europeans and Anglo-Indians, 26; Indian Christians, 51; Brahmans, 46; Non-Brahmans, 48; Muhammadans, 3; Parsees, 1; and the residents in the Hostel classified according to sections taking different kinds of food were: European, 41; Brahman, 29; Cosmopolitan, i.e. a section providing vegetarian food irrespective of caste or creed, 23; Nayar, 14; Malayalee Non-vegetarian Hindu, 25; Tamil-Telugu Christian, 33; Syrian Christian, 32; total 197. The science block will be completed in 1928. Miss Dorothy de la Hey, M.A. Oxon, Principal of the College, writes: 'Lord Pentland took a great interest in Queen Mary's College, for the opening of which he was primarily responsible. We have called the first new building that was put up for the College, the Pentland block, because

Lord Pentland took so much interest in the progress of the building that it was completed at a remarkable speed, i.e. in six months. This interest was at times rather embarrassing as His Excellency dropped in at all hours to see how things were going. Once in the early morning—though I own I was unusually late in getting up—I had to send down an excuse, and say that I would be ready in ten minutes if he wished to see me. Another time he came late in the evening, and, the lighting then being very bad, I nearly took him for a visitor arriving after the permitted hour who would have to be reproved! The kindest and most thoughtful of Lord Pentland's acts towards the College and towards me personally took place in our opening days. We had undertaken to provide board and residence for students if required, and began with about twenty resident students. It had been impressed upon me by the Director of Public Instruction that this Hostel must be entirely self-supporting. I found out the scale of fees usually charged and fixed mine accordingly. But I had little experience of Indian servants, no one to supervise them for me, very little time to look after them with all my other work, and I soon found that the food was costing far more than the fees we were charging. I could not increase the fees as I knew the girls were not getting their money's worth. I was at my wits' end. It happened that His Excellency paid an unexpected visit to Madras just then, (it was July, 1914) and called to see what sort of a start the new College had made. The table matey had just demanded higher wages, and, in my trouble, I forgot that Governors are not usually consulted in domestic difficulties, and poured out all my woes. Lord Pentland listened sympathetically, and in the course of a very few days, his secretary wrote that "His Excellency thinks that it would be better if you could be relieved of some of the domestic supervision so as to have more time to be with

the students. If you can find a suitable person as house-keeper and will suggest a suitable wage, His Excellency will be glad to pay this himself for the first three months, after which time no doubt provision will be made by Government." Needless to say I accepted this kind offer eagerly. We found a good woman, and my troubles disappeared. In fact we soon lowered our rate of fees, as we were making money. Government did sanction the post of housekeeper and pay "with retrospective effect," but Lord Pentland did not accept the return of his money and let me use it for the benefit of the Hostel.' Other visits and letters dealt with the laying out of the garden; he writes also 'the idea of a swimming bath has often occurred to me . . . an estimate is being prepared.'

A joint committee of missions was also planning a Women's College, but seeing the desire of upper rank Hindu families for the higher education of their girls, though still holding orthodox opinions, Pentland felt that a Government college would increase the number of students for the teaching and medical professions, and provide for the higher caste and wealthy young women who wanted to continue their education. The Women's Christian College, however, which was opened in 1915, with Miss Eleanor McDougall, M.A., as Principal, received liberal grants from the Government, and like the sister college grew quickly. Pentland endowed a prize for them in 1917, and visited the new buildings that soon were added there too. Before leaving Madras he organized a garden party for the students of both Colleges at Government House, where all alike excelled in the skittle gymkhana events, mental and athletic, devised for the occasion.

A hostel intended to provide a home where Brahman girl-widows might come for their education, had been started in 1912 with 4 girls, and Pentland took a keen

interest in its progress. On the Marina stood a large round castle of a house belonging to a zamindar; it was called the Ice House because before the harbour existed ice was landed from ships by masulo boats on the beach in front, and stored in the inner vaults of this house. When the Brahman widows had to move into new quarters, Pentland inspected this house and it was acquired by the Government, who provided a generous number of scholarships. The number of inmates rose to about 100, as people began to allow girls to go there. Since then a number of the girls have passed into Queen Mary's College, the Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi (opened in 1916), and into the nursing and other professions; and in 1927 a home to help these girls to train as teachers was opened too. Sister Subbalakshmi, B.A., L.T., an able high caste Indian lady of distinguished family, who has superintended the home from the first, describes how an orthodox old man in North Arcot refused to let his daughter, a widow, come because she might be westernized or converted. He was persuaded to visit the Home, and was satisfied with 'the kitchen where he saw the orthodox Brahman cooks with the holy ash, cooking in quite an orthodox and neat fashion: my aunt was also a satisfaction, a widow in white garb performing her *puja* at the time; the result was that his daughter came'. Miss Lynch, now Mrs. Drysdale, the chief Government Inspectress, afterwards Deputy Directress of Public Instruction, who initiated and built up this home which has enabled so many child-widows to become useful citizens, writes: 'Lord Pentland was behind the whole movement . . . and discussed it very minutely; and the necessity for providing for the collegiate education of promising young widows was one of the reasons which made the establishment of a Government Women's College so desirable. I remember well his noting this down in his little book, and he also remarked

that he wished it were possible to establish a medical school for them at the same time!' In August 1918 he had in fact the pleasure of opening the Missionary Medical School for Women at Vellore; and he spoke then of his admiration for Dr. Ida Scudder's achievement in providing this solution to a grave and important question, in addition to all the other work she has accomplished there. In 1927 there were 77 Indian women students studying there for medical degrees, and in March 1928 the fine new Hospitals of the School were opened by their Excellencies the Governor of Madras and Viscountess Goschen.

When Pentland held Investitures for conferring decorations of the Orders of the Star of India, the Indian Empire, the British Empire, the Kaisar-i-Hind medal, and so on, he had to wear a G.C.I.E. mantle and have two small pages dressed in white and gold. These were usually chosen from scions of the Zamindars' families. For instance in 1913 they were S. Kumaramuthaya, nephew of the Raja of Ettyapuram, and Patinjara Covilageth Virarayan Raja, of the Zamorin of Calicut's family. When visiting Calicut later Pentland wrote: 'My little Zamorin page turned up at the Zamorins' College to-day, in his white satin clothes, looking very smart—and demure! Dear little fellow.' Pentland was most solicitous for the right education of such boys. In the course of his tours, and through his exchange of ceremonial courtesies as Governor, he made acquaintance with many of the great landowners, or Zamindars, descendants in some cases of the semi-independent chiefs of pre-British days, whose estates are held direct from the Government on condition of the payment of a fixed annual sum called *peshkash*. They represent the hereditary aristocracy of India and wield wide power and influence within these properties, which are sometimes of great extent and value. Many of the

Zamindars are cultivated gentlemen and capable administrators; others live in lonely palaces in the depths of the country, with no neighbours of equal rank, and their children were often allowed to grow up without proper education. To meet this need a special college called Newington had been started which was at this time under the charge of Mr. Cameron Morrison, M.A., now Lecturer in Economics at the University of St. Andrews. Mr. Morrison writes: 'It was Lord Pentland's aim from the beginning to foster and expand the work carried on by the Court of Wards. He took every opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with the staff and pupils both at Madras and during their hot-weather sojourn on the hills. To Newington itself he paid frequent informal visits, had the boys out to tennis at Government House and organized an annual cricket match at Chepauk between their teams and his staff. At all such meetings with the boys, old and young, past and present, his rare gift of breaking through Indian reserve and winning them to talk with him freely as a friend and well-wisher found ready scope. Nor did he forget them after they had assumed charge of their estates. Few tours but found him visiting one or other at their homes and as occasion arose he obtained the nomination of some to the Legislative Council.' The Raja of Parlakimedi also writes: 'Lord Pentland was a true friend and well-wisher of the Landed Aristocracy of this Presidency and kept himself in touch with every one he knew, and took great interest in encouraging the activities of each and all to further the general improvement of their possessions and ideals.'

When he was appointing Committees he sometimes substituted for some of the usual names that had been proposed those of Zamindars; he arranged that a party of them should be invited to the annual conference week at the Agricultural College in Coimbatore, and wrote to

Mr. Gillman: 'as the Forest College will be in recess, I suggest we might allow the Zamindars and their servants to occupy the students' houses: a visit to the famous Kangyam herd of the Pattagar of Palayakottai would be of interest and educative for them.' At the time of the conference, he says: 'We have had here a small party for the purpose: the Rajas of Bobbili, Parlakimedi, Kollengode, Kurupam, Zamindars of Telaprole, Kavalappara Muppil Nair, Doddappanayakanur, Mirzapuram, Rama Rayaningar, Krishnan Nair and others. And during the recruiting effort he wrote to General Sir Charles Monro, K.C.B., the Commander-in-Chief: 'You may be interested to know that (with the exception of two who have been prevented by domestic reasons) all those Zamindars to whom temporary commissions in the Indian Land Forces have been granted are now doing their preliminary training in Madras.' During this training the Zamindars often came to tennis at Government House, and he went to watch their early morning drill.

It was because he was anxious to see Zamindars taking their full part in public service that he worked so hard throughout his whole time to turn Newington into a first-class Rajkumar College. He wrote to the agent of one Raja in 1915: 'My belief is that it is a highly necessary reform . . . providing them with educational facilities suitable to their position and equal if not better in quality than any they can now obtain anywhere else in India. I enclose a rough outline of the scheme.' He received a donation of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs from the Maharaja of Bobbili, G.C.I.E., $\frac{1}{2}$ lakh from the Maharaja of Venkata-giri, Rs. 25,000 from the Raja of Parlakimedi, and other sums making 3 lakhs, the Government being prepared to give an equivalent sum. He commissioned Mr. Cameron Morrison to make a tour of Chiefs' Colleges in the north and visited several of them himself. He had many

consultations over the precise form, the site and the plans of the new college; he writes for instance to the Government architect, August 1918: 'Since my visit to the Grange last week a further point has occurred to me: I am not quite sure whether the orientation of the students' quadrangle is quite correct . . . it would be better that the handsomest building should approximately face the main road. . . .' In January 1919 he laid the foundation-stone but unfortunately untoward causes prevented the fulfilment of his hopes. The Government refunded the subscribers' donations, and the Maharaja of Bobbili, who had worked for such a college during many years, invested his $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs under an educational trust deed whereby the income may be transferred to any future Rajkumar College.

In these days of grading, the educator knows that according to the curve of normal distribution, he will be occupied mostly with average children, whose abilities can be expressed by a mental ratio of about 100. But there is just the chance that he may have the privilege of training a mind which can be classed as 150+. In the Literary Society Journal of Kumbakonam College Mr. Krishnaswami, B.A., L.T., wrote in 1925: 'Lord Pentland took no small interest in providing the necessary facilities for the late Mr. S. Ramanujan, F.R.S., to proceed to England.' In 1914, when Pentland was head of the Madras University and Government, he authorized the grant of a scholarship at Cambridge of £250 a year with passage and outfit, to Mr. Ramanujan, a young Kumbakonam student who was a wonderful mathematical genius. He was the first Indian to be elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and one of the few, like Professor Huxley, who have been elected at the age of thirty. In 1918 he was also elected a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, but he died in 1920. His Collected Papers, edited by G. H. Hardy, P. V. Seshu Aiyar and B. M.

Wilson, were published in 1927 by the Cambridge University Press.

Such brilliant stars encourage those who strive to increase the general capacity of each ordinary mortal. A school had been started by Sir Clement Simpson, of Binny & Co., for the half-timers employed at the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, 'so that', to quote a Directors' Report, 'operatives may acquire a little knowledge of English reading, writing and arithmetic and in time become independent of interpreters. This should prevent their being led away by agitators and lead to the more intelligent working of machinery.' Pentland took a great interest in this experiment and in the other welfare work that was developed there. Indeed, whenever he heard of difficulties or delays in progress, Pentland would say: 'It can only be done by education'; and in any march upon Mansoul he believed in directing the main forces towards Eye-gate. For instance, in August 1916, he writes to Sir Henry Stone 'on the idea of the educational exhibition of which I spoke to you—the Teachers' College might be specially interested: another idea which occurs to me is the representation of a special Geography class-room as at Ambasamudram.' The exhibition came to pass in January 1917, and there were delightful rooms each illustrating the latest methods in History, Science, Geography, Mathematics, Manual Training, Kindergarten; paper folding for Euclid, all kinds of graphs, and gramophones to teach pronunciation. Pentland described, in writing to Mr. Harold Cox, how he had noticed that a class who had listened to the gramophone pronounced English better than their teacher. In reply to Mr. Cox's inquiries he also sent an account of the instruction in phonetics and in the use of the script of the International Phonetics Association given to Madras University students by Professor, now Sir Mark, Hunter. Pentland always insisted on

the importance of right pronunciation for its own sake and also as a means of effacing distinctions of class and race.

In the undeveloped fields of India, there were indeed opportunities on every side for anyone who cared to encourage training of the mind, preparation for life, self-realization, growth, or whatever the education of humanity may be called, as it goes on at man's different ages and stages. Pentland had taken some trouble about obtaining a good magic lantern for the Madras Museum, and wrote to the Superintendent, Dr. J. R. Henderson, in July 1917, 'I am glad to see that you have got the magic lantern. Its satisfactory arrival suggests its being put to practical use in the coming cold weather and I have often wondered whether a series of elementary *popular* scientific lectures might not be welcomed by Madras students—something resembling University Extension lectures at home, but perhaps of a more elementary character, intelligible to laymen as well as to students. I should value your considered opinion on whether it is worth while to attempt anything of this kind?'

VII

GOVERNMENT HOUSE

ON the east Government House, Madras, looks out over Fort St. George and a blue horizon of sea; on the west over the garden city of Madras, an expanse of trees surrounding scattered temples and mosques, mansions and bazaars. One of the objects of a Governor is that at Government House the various elements and individuals of his province may meet one another. Pentland was a good host, both by nature and by practice, for he had always found means of bringing people together socially. For instance when, in the cold weather of 1913-14, the Public Services Royal Commission came back on a second visit to Madras, the forty members of the Legislative Council were invited to dine to meet them at Government House, and to make it easier for gentlemen of strict caste to accept, Pentland offered to provide for them a special correct meal. Brahman cooks were brought in and separate kitchens found for them; the first place shown to them they rejected as it had a door leading to an oven which might conceivably be used for baking European bread. Brahman peons were engaged to come and hand the dishes to the orthodox. Lord Crewe wrote to Pentland later: 'Great pleasure I see has been caused by your sound move of having food cooked specially for high caste Indians at a banquet. This is just one of the things that appeals to a wider circle than that immediately affected.' After this a special dinner was always prepared for strict caste guests, and each had a coloured card with the Brahman dishes printed on it.

The *menu*¹ on this first occasion was:



26th January, 1914.

- i. Ven-Pongal ... [வெண் பொங்கல்]
- ii. Omappodi ... [உருளைக்கிழங்கு ஓமப்போடி]
- iii. Vānki-bhat ... [வாங்கி பாத்]
- iv. Dūdh-Pheda ... [தாத் பேடா]
- v. Somāsi ... [சுத்திரிக்காய் சோமாசி]
- vi. Bakāla-bhat ... [பகாள பாத்]

On his part Sir Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., the Indian member of the Madras Executive Council from 1912 to 1917, used to entertain the Governor and the other members of Executive Council, with their wives, to a midday Brahman meal at his own house, and Lady Sivaswami Aiyar was also present. Of course it was then a great concession for Brahmins to dine beside non-caste people at all, and to use plates instead of leaves, which can be destroyed afterwards and are therefore considered more cleanly.

Sir Sivaswami wrote after Pentland's death in 1925: 'Five years of work with him as my chief, and of intimate association with him as a friend, had endeared him to me, and my recollections of those years are among the

¹ Ven-Pongal (rice and ghi). Omappodi (potato fritters). Vānki-bhat (curry and rice). Dūdh-Pheda (wheaten cake). Somāsi (fried brinjal). Bakāla-bhat (rice, curds and chillies).

pleasantest in my life. As a chief he was ever considerate and ready to stand by and support his colleagues. As a shrewd judge of men and affairs and a man of keen discernment and sound judgment his advice was very helpful. Cultured, kind-hearted, and amiable, he had a great capacity for drawing friends to him.'

In 1917 Sir Sivaswami Aiyar was succeeded as Indian member of the Madras Executive Council by Sir P. Rajagopala Chariyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. In 1914, when he was Diwan of Travancore, he was offered by Pentland the post of Secretary to Government in the Judicial Department, and he was the first Indian statutory civilian to hold such a position. In 1921 he was appointed first President of the reconstituted Madras Legislative Council, and in 1923 Member of the Secretary of State's India Council in London. His death in 1927 was deeply regretted by all who knew him; *The Times* said of him: 'One of the ablest and most far-sighted Madrasis of our day, he filled many responsible positions with distinction and success.' He wrote in 1925: 'I may mention the social life of Government House. At no time did we Indians feel so thoroughly at home in Government House as we did in Lord Pentland's time. Notwithstanding his personal austerity, he had a way of making Indians feel happy in his presence which it is difficult to describe. He was full of humour and kindness, though a stranger seeing him for the first time would find it difficult to credit him with them. I recall the first meeting I attended of the Madras Legislative Council in Ooty in 1915. The meeting was held in Government House and Lord Pentland asked all the Indian members to lunch with him. I found Indians and Europeans quite interspersed together, and what was more, Brahmans and others who wished it were served by Brahmans with vegetarian food cooked by Brahmans. The arrangement must have taken trouble

to think out and carry out. To an English reader unacquainted with Indian conditions, this might appear a trivial thing. But incidents like these go towards producing that feeling of social cordiality between the two races on which so much depends. I remember my predecessor in the Executive Council, Sir Sivaswami Aiyar telling me with great feeling that when he attended dinners and luncheons at Government House in Lord Pentland's time, he never felt that he was in a strange place. I should, in passing, mention that caste was much more rigorous in Lord Pentland's time than it has been since. The number of people from Madras who had visited England was quite negligible before 1919. The War and its aftermath have greatly changed matters since then. Lord Pentland drew a clear line between differences of opinion in regard to political matters and treatment in Government House. Some of his best friends and several who had the warmest admiration for him belonged to the extremist party in India, and when the news of Lord Pentland's demise reached India these felt the sorrow even more than others.

'Lord Pentland was an excellent judge of Indian character. He seemed to know Indians so thoroughly that I was not infrequently astonished at his knowledge of them collectively and individually. The Indian officials whom he advanced have every one of them justified his choice. In choosing a man for preferment, Lord Pentland had a facility for ignoring what may be called the worldly success so far achieved by the man. The instance of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri may be mentioned. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri was the head master of a high school in Madras; and he subsequently became an official of the Servants of India Society. Lord Pentland appointed him straight away as a member of the Madras Legislative Council. The appointment was received with great surprise. There was no chance at the time of Mr.

Sastri being returned by any constituency. After some years of service in the Madras Legislative Council Mr. Srinivasa Sastri stood for election to the Indian Legislative Council by the non-official members of the Madras Legislative Council. He was returned, and I know that several who then voted for him did so because of Lord Pentland's good opinion of him. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has since been made a member of the Privy Council, and he is now a public man of high rank. The credit for singling him out when he was an insignificant man was wholly that of Lord Pentland. Along with this minute knowledge—surprising in an Englishman—of Indian character, it should be remembered that Lord Pentland absolutely barred all glib talk, all scandal about men, etc.; and his studious discouragement of anything mean or underhand was all to the good.

'Lord Pentland was fond of emphasizing the value of what he called team-work. And he succeeded so well that he made the members of his Executive Council forget for the time being that they were Indians or Europeans. In his Executive Council he had a peculiar knack of reconciling differences of opinion and producing conclusions in which all his Councillors could agree. The late Sir Harold Stuart, who had had considerable experience of executive council work not only in Madras but also in Delhi and Simla, once told me that the way in which Lord Pentland induced unanimity was something remarkable. Of course, when unanimity among a number of people was reached, some amount of self-effacement had to be accepted. To this Lord Pentland's colleagues could have no objection, as he set the example of it himself. Lord Pentland's public speeches in the Legislative Council, too, were very persuasive. I recall many a debate in which he summed up towards the close the Government point of view in words so moderate and tactful as to disarm all opposition and induce the non-

official members to withdraw their motions after they had been rubbed up by the official spokesman.

'He was cautious to a degree; it was apparent in word and in deed. One would almost think that he looked at everything through a microscope; he would not take any risk which could at all be avoided. The drafts of letters which went up to him for approval were scrutinized by him till he made them perfect. He had a particular detestation of strong language; seldom would he use or pass adjectives. In explanation of this circumstance he once told me that it was Lord Morley who warned him against the employment of strong language in official documents. The same caution manifested itself when action had to be taken. I shall mention one incident to exemplify this. It was at one time a favourite proposal of the non-official members of the Madras Legislative Council, that non-official presidents of district boards should be tried. I remember on the last occasion when this proposal came up, a note on the subject was sent up to Lord Pentland by me recommending that a move might be made in that direction, but his only remark was, "not yet". I amplified this as best I could in my speech in the Legislative Council; there was, of course, considerable dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Government negativing the proposal which was for the appointment of a *single* non-official president. Within a short time after this, however, Lord Pentland, as a result of a very careful inquiry personally made by him, appointed *four* non-official presidents of district boards. I asked him how it happened that he appointed so many as four men when a few months earlier he would not agree to the appointment of even one. His reply was that till inquiry had been made it would have been unsafe to make any promise; secondly, no experiment could really be made on the basis of a single such appointment, whereas when four men were appointed, adequate experi-

ence would be gained to judge of the experiment. As a matter of fact he followed up his first move by the appointment later on of another two. I may mention in passing on that the men he appointed did extremely well. One of them subsequently became the first Minister under the Reforms. Another became a member of the Madras Executive Council and is now a member of the Government of India. A third was knighted for valuable public services; and so on. And this exemplifies another characteristic of Lord Pentland, namely, the thoroughness of his action when he did take action. He took a lot of time and a lot of care before making the first move. But when he did move, there were no half measures. The very fact that he had taken so much time and had given so much thought and consideration to his action enabled him to be certain of his ground to an extent which would not have been possible in the case of men less circumspect.¹

Diwan Bahadur Sir T. Desika Achariyar, who was appointed President of the District Board, Trichinopoly,

¹ In June 1925, before he had written the above notes, Sir Rajagopala Chariyar was discussing these district boards in conversation, and said, in his emphatic humorous way: 'Lord Pentland sifted the men for these appointments as if it were for heaven or hell; but the result is they have all been successful. The wording of my minutes was examined like through a magnifying glass, and nothing forcible was allowed; I complained that this would seem insipid to those accustomed to more spicy fare. I used to become impatient at such infinite care; I felt the strain of so much mental effort, and high pressure of thought, and a standard hardly attainable by men, being required on everything, and I would think, "Let us be wrong once or twice rather than take so much trouble." But Lord Pentland would say: "It saves time in the long run," and certainly anything he did never had to be done again. I knew no one who came so near to absolute accuracy. I found his example of caution an excellent training afterwards; though sometimes I thought: "For God's sake let us come to a conclusion," I cannot now recall harm done in any instance by waiting. I remember Lord Pentland saying once: "It is only in a few occasions that 'prompt' action is necessary." However, after he had taken

writing to Pentland in 1920, said: 'The experiment you have initiated, in entrusting to non-officials the work which had been for more than a quarter of a century before in the hands of senior civil servants of the Government, has been marked with success to such a degree that the majority of Local Boards are to-day served by non-official Presidents. Those interested in local self-government in this Presidency must ever cherish with gratitude the sound policy which you did inaugurate.

... I could multiply the instances in which your initiative and effort helped the Presidency in orderly progress and prospects.' Diwan Bahadur D. Seshagiri Rao, B.A., of Cocanada, says: 'Lord Pentland was firm all this trouble, seen every human being, read every scrap of paper, once he had made a decision it was no use trying to make him re-open the question.

'What struck me as the most unusual thing about him was how he did not consider or regard the effects of anything on himself; he was impersonal, just like our Indian idea of a Sanyasi. When I urged him not to be so self-effacing, and take more credit as he easily might have done without any self-advertisement, he said, "What does it matter?" Yet he had a great power of sympathy and strong and warm feelings, though very much under control. I enjoyed his conversation; books he read as thoroughly as he did everything else; he had an extraordinary insight into character and could hit men off in phrases that exactly described them. I was often amazed to find he knew as much about people as if he had an army of spies; but as he would receive no tales, this knowledge must have been gained from his habit of observation and paying minute attention in conversation, when others listen without thinking. He had excellent judgment and took an unusually long view in thinking of future effects. While drafting a criticism on the Reforms scheme I said, "What is the use as the Government's mind is made up?" and he replied: "You must imagine a man reading these Bluebooks ten or fifteen years hence."

'When he was presiding at the Legislative Council, he would hang on to that Chair, and so the rest of us all had to stay too. He tightened up the procedure, and the members did not like it, for they had been happy roaming about in discussion. I said, "Why change?" and he replied, "What is the good of rules that are not kept?" Since then visitors have often observed how well the Madras Council is conducted; this is due to his strictness at that time.'

and at the same time liberal in his views. It was during his time that the first step towards progress in Local Self-Government was taken by throwing open the Presidentship of certain District Boards to non-officials and I had the honour of being nominated President of the Godavari District Board; now almost all the District Boards enjoy the right of having a non-official President.'

Diwan Bahadur V. K. Ramanujachari, formerly Chairman of Kumbakonam Municipal Council, and for many years Member of the Madras Legislative Council, wrote in 1925: 'Lord Pentland's sterling qualities are daily remembered by those who had the good fortune to know him intimately. You will probably remember me as a severe critic of Government.'

M. R. Ry T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar, B.A., B.L., wrote to say what a good representative of British character was 'that true and sincere man, Lord Pentland. He was not given to ostentation. He was somewhat reserved and spoke very few words. I knew him very intimately. He was a gentleman every inch of him. There was no pose, no playing to the gallery.'

Another Indian gentleman, Mr. P. R. Rama Aiyar, says: 'He invited and encouraged freedom of intercourse, particularly, with non-officials. In his attention to visitors at Government House, he was punctilious without formality, condescending without patronage. He was simple to the point of severity, and was a practical illustration of "plain living and high thinking". I believe he was one of the few in such an exalted position, to study to put others at their ease, in his presence. His patience was as great as his anxiety "to throw himself" into the minds of others. Consequently, toleration was at the root of his character. I believe he was the first Governor to keep the portfolio of Education in his own hands. He took an active interest in the cause of higher education, and was, I know, in sympathy with the demand

for elevating the vernaculars to an honoured place in the curricula. It was a cruel irony of fate that his liberal convictions could not be more fully translated into action on account of the War, so that he had to give his energies to initiating and maintaining organizations for the relief of the sick and wounded. The Hospital Ship *Madras* might have been appropriately called *Pentland*; and will be long remembered as an achievement of patriotism and public spirit.'

For those citizens of India who worked in his own household Pentland always felt a special concern. A few days after his arrival he held a parade of the 116 servants at Government House, butlers, bearers, peons, lascars, mateys, sweepers, cooks, syces, dhobis, mahlis, and spoke some friendly words which were translated into Tamil by Murugasem, the head butler; this ceremony was repeated at intervals and gave much pleasure. He soon penetrated to the lines in the compound where they all lived. He wrote to Major (now Colonel) Elwes, C.I.E., I.M.S., then acting as the Governor's surgeon: 'The present quarters are entirely inadequate and out-of-date; it is hopeless to preach fresh air and the necessity of keeping bodies and houses clean to families living in single room houses. If you could kindly give me your judgment in an emphatic note I will ask Murray to lose no time in sending it to Simla for sanction. Until we obtain sanction apparently we cannot even begin the work.' To the late Sir Harold Stuart, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., then Member of his Executive Council, he wrote at the same time in September 1915: 'It is impossible to expect one small room, with no out-house, yard or extra space of any kind, to be kept clean or ventilated or free from smell and smoke. The children as well as the adults suffer far more than they should from bronchitis and other complaints. For the last two years I have given prizes for the best kept and

ventilated house of each class of servants, butlers, peons, syces, sweepers, and so on: and on the whole they are making a fair effort; but the present state of things is a real danger. . . . We have not been extravagant, for we have not spent a rupee here since we came, and have cut down substantially the expenditure contemplated for this house. And it would be more fair to the succeeding Governor to put these servants' quarters in order than leave him to face overdue improvements. I am always very reluctant to trouble departments about Government House business, but if we do write to Simla we should do so at once.' Though some pressure was required, the existing quarters were improved and new ones built both at Madras and Ooty.

Dr. C. P. Shunker, D.M.C., Assistant Surgeon at Government House 1913-19, now Medical Superintendent, Central Jail, Rajahmundry, writes: 'Lord Pentland will long be remembered for the great interest he took in the servants, by providing them with larger and well-ventilated houses, organizing lantern lectures in the vernacular for them on health, temperance, thrift, etc., introducing a provident fund which effectually saved them from the usurers, opening adult night classes to teach them English and other subjects. He gave prizes for the houses best kept clean and sanitary during the year, and these were awarded at annual sports where all those employed at Government House could take part. In these and in many other little ways he endeared himself to all classes of servants. He was never too tired or too busy to listen to their needs. Much that he did will never be known to the public for he disliked publicity and abhorred show. Those who had the great privilege of knowing him intimately can never forget his intellect, his Christian uprightness, his refinement, his passion for work, his devotion to duty and his kindly manner.'

It was Dr. Shunker who gave these household health lectures, and they were afterwards published as a booklet in English and Tamil. In order to get suitable literature for the night school, and also for the peons to read during some of their long spells of waiting about, Pentland wrote to the C.M.S. missionary at Ootacamund, the Rev. H. Moorhouse: 'I have been looking for some inexpensive elementary Tamil books to give to children and to adults who are not expert readers. Some are for Christians and some for non-Christians. I am not sure what publishers issue such literature: I wonder if you could kindly give me the information so that I might write for samples.'

Government House, Ootacamund, itself was much improved by some structural changes Pentland suggested and supervised, though he insisted that the servants' quarters must be enlarged first. For the European subordinate staff he laid out a lawn tennis court at Madras, and, chiefly for their recreation, seven short holes of golf round the house at Ooty. On this little course he got up monthly tournaments in which the whole staff took part as well. Before the War there were about half a dozen of the Governor's personal staff—secretaries, A.D.C.'s, and sometimes bodyguard officers—living in the house; a cheerful circle at the round dinner table, in their staff coats with yellow facings and brass buttons; between each of them and his chief there was mutual respect and friendship.

Mr. T. E. Moir, C.S.I., C.I.E., Private Secretary to the Governor 1915-19, and now Member of the Madras Executive Council, writes: 'Lord Pentland exercised a great fascination over those with whom he came in contact. He had travelled much, read much, met and in many cases known intimately the leading men of his time and had himself been a member of the Cabinet. He never obtruded his exceptional knowledge

and experience of events, but when he could be induced to talk of such matters his retentive memory, his shrewd and generous judgments of men and affairs, his wit and humour, had a great attraction for men who in India feel more and more isolated as years go on from any intimate knowledge of events and tendencies in the greater world. And yet he never gave the impression that the affairs of an Indian Province weighed less with him than those in which he had for many years taken part. . . . Men who have to deal with a heavy burden of work in the East soon learn that it is essential to keep physically fit, and Lord Pentland realized this fact. In the tropics functions and ceremonial occasions of all sorts must necessarily take place in the cool hours of the morning or of the evening, and frequently both morning and evening were thus mortgaged. But a morning ride or a game of tennis or squash rackets with members of his staff gave much needed relaxation. A good eye, his keenness and evident enjoyment of such chance relaxation made him a charming partner and on Saturday afternoons especially hospitality was extended to many well-known players in Madras and to old boys of Newington, in which he took the keenest interest.'

When in Madras he got some sailing with the Madras Sailing Club, and he was one of four owners who each got a 21-foot yacht built in Madras, for a Bembridge one-design cruiser class. He called his boat *Kerala*, after the ancient name of Malabar, and would hasten down to Springhaven, the inner basin of the harbour where the yachts lay, to take her out for an evening sail, or join in the weekly races. On regatta days a party of guests looked on from the end of the breakwater. After one of these regattas he wrote to his daughter Peggy: 'I had two things to do, first to entertain all our guests and secondly to sail in the races; so ultimately the staff did the entertaining and I did the sailing. There

were three races and for each of them all the boats of the three classes started together; this made quite a scrimmage and a most exciting start: we had to hold back to prevent a collision. . . . Afterwards I went ashore and to my great astonishment—I must add the races were handicapped—I was told that *Kerāla* and *Lapwing* were equal for first place. It was left to me as Commodore to decide who should have the cup, so I decided that it should be awarded to *Lapwing*, which Sir Francis Spring, who is Vice-Commodore, had sailed. He was pleased, Mr. Justice Napier who gave the Cup was pleased, and I was pleased. So it is a most satisfactory result.'

As Governor he was President of the celebrated Ootacamund Hunt, the pack of foxhounds, first started in 1847, which pursued the speedy 'jack' across many miles of steep country on the Downs. Soon after his arrival he was writing to Lord Dalkeith, the present Duke of Buccleuch, about getting out a draft from the Duke's Hounds. Keeping up the Hunt during the War was often of course an anxiety. He wrote to his brother, C. G. Sinclair, before one season began: 'Whether we shall be able to keep the Ooty hounds going this year is another matter. It might probably seem odd to you that we should be thinking about it, but here we are with a great many people who cannot get home and certainly require a change of climate if they are to go on working here; also a number of officers on leave from Mesopotamia, some convalescents, for whom air and exercise is the best possible prescription. But not only are hunt servants scarce—I do not know where to look for volunteers this year, but also horses.' . . .

Major-General T. H. Symons, I.M.S., who formerly hunted the Madras Hounds, says: 'Anyone with any horse knowledge would have recognized at once the excellent seat Lord Pentland had on a horse. He



H.E. LORD PENTLAND
ON HIS ARAB PONY KISMET, AT OOTACAMUND

was schooled in a good cavalry regiment—the 5th Lancers—and he always showed signs of that schooling. His support to the Ootacamund and Madras Hounds at a time when their carrying on was effected under the most adverse circumstances, will never be forgotten by the followers of those Hunts. He assisted them not only financially and as President, but also by following the Hunt even when if he had consulted his health he would have stayed at home. But, in as much as he felt it was up to him to keep the flag flying whilst a great many of the usual members of the Hunt were away at the War, he at great personal inconvenience attended practically all the Meets. In fact he has been the only Madras Governor who hunted regularly with the Madras Hounds. He was the class of man which is always missed; a man who was a true sportsman, the soul of honour, and one who could never have thought or have done a mean thing.'

The Ooty hounds met at about 7 a.m. and he would follow them for the first couple of hours, returning to business about 9. He took his own line through shoals and bogs, and as his pony slithered down some perpendicular precipice in front, would call back confidently to the cautious follower: 'It's all right! give him his head!' He had his share of spills and bruises of course; after a fiery chestnut Arab called Blazes had come down with him he wrote to Mr. Lionel Gasson, Indian Police, who had been an A.D.C. on his staff: '... Blazes who is always too lively shied and to his great surprise found all his four legs slip from under him in a twinkle. I hope he will not try to be so clever again for I found the road uncommonly hard.'

Peggy and John, also in red coats, often followed the President of the Ooty Hunt on their ponies, and out over the Downs he gave them first lessons in horsemanship. In Madras he asked the Risaldar of the

Governor's Bodyguard, M. Abdullah Sharif, to train them in the elements of military riding school practice and trotted round in the ring with them himself. With his interest in education, he naturally took trouble about the bringing up of his own children. He went to their schoolroom in the morning to take prayers; at other half-hours he read to them books which he had carefully chosen because he thought they would be fresh and enlightening, for instance about the stars, arithmetic, music, primitive man, and so on: Gulliver's account of Laputa and the Houyhnhnms was another success. He tried to find any opportunities for them that might make up for absence from home. He arranged that they should get lessons at the School of Arts and from the Government teacher of physical drill. Mr. P. R. Krishnaswami, M.A., L.T., wrote in the *Educational Review* in 1925: 'There was something strikingly human and simple about Lord Pentland. One recalls the picture of his two children, sometimes accompanied by him, driving to the Teachers' College at Saidapet from their Guindy residence, to receive instruction in manual training.'

As Madras was only 13 degrees from the Equator, the sun rose and set between about half-past five and half-past six o'clock all the year round. Pentland's daily routine there was equally regular. At 5.45 a.m. he was called, got up, took a *chota hazri* of one or two plantains, and read a book till 7 o'clock, when he rode with one of his staff to visit an institution, call on some official, explore slums, or canter along the Marina while the fishermen were starting their catamarans through the breakers. After breakfast he did business with the private secretary and military secretary, and had interviews with officials and non-officials, or a meeting of the executive or legislative council, till about half-past four, when he often attended a public gathering or entertain-

ment, or if not, played some lawn tennis. A large verandah over the front porch was used as the dining-room; two or three times a week a dinner-party took place, accompanied by music from the Governor's Band. When the compound was quiet, there came the cries of flying foxes and jackals; then only the sound of the surf, and of the chicks swinging on the balcony, till the sun shot up again from the sea.

Though never of very robust health, the Governor was usually the last to tire. Once before a heavy day of official work there was a shoot to kill pigs in the park at Guindy, and the guns went about in the sun from 6 to 10 a.m.; the staff returned saying 'H.E.' had walked them off their legs. While on tour once the Military Secretary wrote to me: 'It would require a genius to know when His Excellency is not well: his will really over-engines his body.' However, after some weeks of hot touring, he was 'tripped up', as he said, by pneumonia, for the second time in twelve months. He wrote afterwards: 'I am really all right again; by way of consolation and as an argument for inoculation—the sovereign remedy here for every ailment—I am told one man has succeeded in having pneumonia 28 times and is alive to tell the tale.' His doctors were surprised at his quick recoveries, especially as he never ate meat or birds, and could hardly be persuaded to take any stimulants or medicine. But he did not put on weight; H.H. the Maharaja of —— once said to him: '*How do you keep so thin?*'

Correspondence took up a great part of his time; he wrote confidential reports to the Secretary of State for India (the Marquess of Crewe 1912-15, the Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain 1915-17, the Right Hon. Edwin Montagu 1917-19) and to the Viceroy (Lord Hardinge of Penshurst 1912-16, Viscount Chelmsford 1916-19). He wrote to all sorts of people at home who could supply

useful information or help in Madras matters; he wrote to the friends who sent the latest news in politics and literature from home; he wrote to London shops about books and presents; and at all odd times he wrote to Madras authorities about things to be pushed on. He dictated many of these letters and memoranda, and kept the flimsies in files, indexed for reference. Looking through them is like seeing a moving picture of those years, and it has been hard to decide at which scenes to pause. Mr. V. P. Ramunni Menon, Superintendent of Central Records, Chief Secretariat of Madras, writes: 'A few months after Lord Pentland assumed office, I was deputed from the Chief Secretariat to work under him as confidential clerk and stenographer. His Lordship reposed great confidence in me and used to dictate many of his notes and drafts on Secretariat files and official and private letters. He was very kind and good to me and I regretted his departure very much. In pre-Reform days, the Governor had to do the full work of a Member of the Government in addition to attending to other multifarious duties. His Lordship was never satisfied in disposing of files after merely reading the office notes, but went through all the papers carefully before orders were passed. As the work was very heavy, he had to engage himself from early morning till late at night to get through it. Owing to his high sense of duty, he attended to all urgent work even when he was seriously ill in bed on two or three occasions during his regime. While on tour also, His Lordship disposed of Secretariat files as usual in spite of the fact that his tour programme used to be overcrowded with engagements both morning and evening. His Lordship conducted his correspondence with officials and non-officials alike in a conscientious and methodical manner, paying particular attention to every detail. Indeed, he had his own inimitable plan of work in everything, which he carried out with pre-

cision, unmindful of any personal inconvenience. He was a voracious reader and found time for this also in spite of his hard work.'

Many of the letters he dictated dealt with orders for books; and in Madras as elsewhere he soon found his way to the bookshops, European and Indian; they became familiar gardens where he often resorted, and as he chose a volume here and there, his office at Government House gradually blossomed with the colours of the books which multiplied in fresh bookcases round the room. In 1915 he writes to his friend Mr. L. T. Hobhouse, the author of *Democracy and Reaction* and other works: 'You always used to tell me what had been published lately which was most worth reading: any suggestions of that kind would be most welcome.'

The Madras Literary Society, a branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, had been founded in 1817, and had accumulated a fine collection of books for reference and circulation. 'Owing to the frequent use he made of their library', Pentland was invited to preside at their annual meeting in March 1913, the first Governor to do so for at least fifty years, according to Mr. Grahame, the oldest member, and Hon. Sec. A suggestion was made in the report, moved by the President, Sir John Wallis, for reviving the former practice of holding meetings to hear papers read, which should afterwards be printed. Pentland commended this idea as a most attractive prospect, and his letters show that he was often proposing new subjects to experts. He hardly ever missed hearing the papers that were read and was always anxious to see them published. The Right Hon. Sir John Wallis, Chief Justice of Madras 1914-21, now member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, writes: 'Lord Pentland set himself in particular to revive the literary activities of the Society which had been allowed to lapse for various reasons, including, I

think, the increasing pressure of official business and the higher standard by which even amateur efforts are now judged. In the course of his extensive tours throughout the Presidency, as well as in Madras and at Ootacamund, Lord Pentland was always on the lookout for competent contributors to the Society's *Transactions* and brought to bear a persuasiveness which few were able to resist. This was only one instance, but I think a striking one, of the whole-hearted support to every useful work which signalized Lord Pentland's governorship.'¹

Writing to the Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail, then Professor of History at the Christian College, Madras, Pentland suggested another outlet: 'I have been trying to plan a form of entertainment which might interest the educated public and offer opportunities for Indians and Europeans to co-operate . . . as outlined in enclosed draft [a

¹ The revival of meetings of the Madras Literary Society for the reading of papers was inaugurated by a paper on 'The Chank-shell in Ancient Indian Life and Religion,' read by Mr. J. Hornell in February 1914. The other papers read between then and 1919 were on 'Clive's Army,' by Mr. H. Dodwell; 'The Indian Horoscope,' by Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai; 'An Exploration of Olympus,' by Professor Patrick Geddes; (1) 'Some of the Monuments at Hampi,' (2) 'The Srisailam Temple,' by Mr. A. H. Longhurst; 'Anglo-Indian Poetry,' by Mr. P. Seshadri, Principal of the Salem College; 'A little-known Chapter of Vijayanagar History,' by Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar; (1) 'Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics,' (2) 'dealing with Chalukya and Chola Kingdoms,' by Diwan Bahadur Sir T. Desikacharia; (1) 'Some Sidelights on the Dravidian Problem,' and (2) 'Some Dravidian Affinities and their Sequel,' by Mr. F. J. Richards, I.C.S.; 'Town-planning as understood by the Tamils,' by Mr. C. P. Venkatrama Aiyar; 'Agricultural Development,' by Mr. J. Mackenna; 'Sraosha of the Zoroastrian System,' by Mr. V. Venkatachellum Aiyar; 'Contemporary Poetry,' by Mr. T. E. Welby; (1) 'The Old Coast Army,' and (2) 'Sir Thomas Munro,' by Brig.-General R. G. Burton; Sir Walter Scott's Indian novel, 'The Surgeon's Daughter,' by Mr. P. R. Krishnaswami, M.A., Kumbakonam College; 'The Ahobilam Temple in Kurnool District,' by Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastri, Government Epigraphist.

Masque or Historical Pageant of South India]. I would propose to put it into correct historical form: for execution we shall have to enlist the aid of those interested in theatricals and the drama'; but this scheme was never carried out. Music he encouraged in every possible way; thus in February 1913 an evening state concert at Government House was given for the first time, with the Governor's Band and amateur singers as performers. There was plenty of talent in Madras, and two years later, in March 1915, he wrote to Mr. S. D. Pears, Chief Engineer to the Public Works Department, Government of Madras, who was well known as a lover of music: 'I wonder if you would kindly come and talk about the notion of re-forming the Musical Association.' The Association was formed and was most vigorous and successful; Pentland wrote after attending one of their first concerts that December: 'A good little concert—the room was packed, the Association seems to have caught on.' During the War he continued to make music a feature at Government House, all the more since dancing and more formal parties were given up. In October he writes: 'Talk with Signor Manzato [the accomplished Italian bandmaster of the Governor's Band]: on November 20 and 24 I propose to have some Chamber Music after dinner, like the Beethoven Septette, but French. Then the Carols on Twelfth Night as usual and in addition a Concert of Sacred Music.' At Ooty he got up a series of Sunday afternoon concerts. All the same he knew that tastes differ: before one afternoon musical party he wrote: 'Would it be possible to run an American tennis tournament for the young people at the same time? César Franck is caviar to the general, I rather think?'

Though the War stopped people coming from home, there were still visitors, official and unofficial, from other parts of India. About Christmas 1914, for instance,

the Indian National Congress, the Indian Science Congress, the Indian Industrial Conference, the Indian National Social Conference, the Theistic Conference, the All-India Temperance Conference, were all meeting in Madras: Pentland went to several of them and wrote to the Secretary of State: 'I gave a garden party here, as a compliment to the Indian National Congress, which was attended by nearly 200 of the leading delegates, and as a visitor I was present for a short time when a "Loyalty" resolution was under discussion.' Another garden party arranged by 'H.E.' was to meet a concourse of guests from all the churches and missions which existed in Madras under a bewildering number of names, kindreds and tongues; he invited the new Boy Scouts to give a display and every one was surprised and delighted by their briskness. At Christmas, disguised as Santa Claus, he made a realistic descent from the night sky by an outside stair from the Banqueting Hall roof, to greet a children's party gathered round a casuarina Christmas tree in the verandah.

The surest address for a letter sent to a Governor in India was at his 'Camp'. For he often had to be away on tour, perhaps for four or five weeks at a time, seeing places and people, listening to addresses and answering them, visiting all manner of institutions like hospitals, jails, asylums, schools, colleges, clubs, and laying foundation-stones of new ones; inspecting water-works, roads, railways and so on, and projects for their extension. Madras, having an area of over 142,000 square miles, was considerably bigger than any other Indian province except Burma, and nearly five times bigger than Scotland, with a population nearly ten times bigger, speaking seven principal languages. Yet it had a special *Madras* clannishness, perhaps as recompense for its isolation at an extremity, just like Scotland.

Instead of twenty-nine counties, Pentland now had twenty-five districts, each with its own features. In 1913, he paid the first of many visits to the favoured Coimbatore district, and sent 'some leaves from a Persian rose in the garden of the Agricultural College'; and, also in the west, to Malabar, 'all the houses in bowers of green; lovely bougainvilleas and flame of the forest, coconut palms and areca-nut palms, plantains and palmyras everywhere, terra-cotta roads, and the people, especially women and children, with even less clothes on than in Madras'. In the centre, from Salem, 'salubrious but hot, and lots of poochis,' he sent a cloth as example of the weaving and dyeing industry, though 'other patterns and dyes not so satisfactory'; went up to its own little hill-station Yercaud on the Shevaroy Hills, and tried horses at the remount dépôt of Hosur, where 'the roads have hedges like England'. In the north he went to Vizagapatam, in the bay of the Dolphin's Nose, 'a sort of miniature Beachy Head, with a south coast Swanage look,' where 'I am glad to have come fairly soon, for there is a sort of Aberdeen *v.* Edinburgh feeling when one is so far from Madras'. At Chatrapur, in Ganjam, he was farther still; being about 650 miles from Madras and only about 350 from Calcutta. They had a day there to shoot duck from elephants, on tanks by the Chilka Lake . . . 'a lovely sunset over the hills and one might easily imagine a West Highland loch in a similar setting'.

¹ In 1914 he made some expeditions in Chingleput, round Madras, and made acquaintance with the great Tamil cities of the south; Madura, where he 'went slumming unofficially—decidedly useful', and the hill station of Kodaikanal on the Palni hills, where he opened the new ghat road; Tinnevelly, where the Temple trustees started a new precedent by presenting an address within the temple itself, and where he saw the splendid mission

work of Palamcottah, including 'two very fascinating schools, the Deaf and Dumb School (Miss Swainson), and the Blind School (Miss Askwith), quite tip-top'.

It seems that once a causeway of land must have joined India to north Ceylon and since 1876 there had been schemes for crossing the sea at this narrowest point, called Adam's Bridge. In February 1914 the South Indian Railway completed their new Indo-Ceylon connection by Mantapam, Danushkhodi and Talimanaar, and invited Pentland to open it. Guests from all directions assembled for the event, including H.E. the Governor of Ceylon, Sir Robert Chalmers, now Lord Chalmers, and H.E. the Governor of the French Settlements, M. Martineau. At the breakfast Pentland pressed the French Governor to speak, and in his eloquent French M. Martineau said how just as this link would be an advantage both to India and Ceylon, so he looked forward to something like it across the Straits of Dover. On the island of Rameswaram the visitors were shown the famous shrine, founded by Rama after he had crossed there by the help of the monkeys and the palm squirrel. The modern contrivance was a Scherzer lifting bridge, and from a shamiana on a platform in the sea the party watched the leaves of the bridge, weighing 400 tons, raised to let ships go through the Pamban Pass. Then it was lowered; the Ceylon train went off over the bridge, and the Madras contingent across the viaduct to the mainland of India.

From Tuticorin Pentland saw cotton-growing experiments at Maniyachi, where ryots were getting 50 per cent. more by using selected seed, seed drills, and co-operative methods. With Mr. J. Hornell, marine biologist to the fisheries department and afterwards Director, he went in a Fishery schooner to watch the chank (the sacred conch shell) and pearl fisheries practised in the ancient way by the natural powers of the

divers. He saw, too, where pearls were to be produced by modern science. He wrote from the 'Train from Mantapam to Ramnad: Thro' sandy waste dotted with palmyras: Began day at 7 a.m. in a Simpson Strickland launch to Krusadai Island, proposed site of Hornell's Pearl Farm. Sounds fascinating! A coral island, with coral reef all round except one little bay, rather attractive. The Japanese do this. Here is a convolvulus from the island; and a box of shells from there despatched for Skulerum (Schoolroom) Museum.' The Madras Fisheries Department was the first to be started in India and Pentland was greatly interested in its work. In the following year he wrote to Mr. Hornell sketching out a plan for a cruise he wanted to take all round the Madras coast to inspect the various fishery and shore industries, and do something for the education of the fishermen and their children.

From Ramnad he wrote: 'There are some interesting old frescoes in the hall of the Raja's palace: they confirm the fact that the gosha system is of comparatively recent introduction, for in one or two processional scenes the Rani appears sometimes by the side of her husband and sometimes following him in a palanquin.' About a contemporary Rani, he wrote in another district: 'Please suggest some historical novels, simple and interesting—Scott's Introductions might be rather overcoming—for the Rani of —— who likes reading about battles and fighting: a quiet gentle-looking girl in poor health: I offered to send her some. Incessant tearing squally wind here which covers everything and everybody all day with dust.'

At Gooty, in the Anantapur district, in July 1914, he wrote: 'This morning we left at 6.30 to explore the Fort of Morari Rao (the Mahratta ally of Clive at Arcot in 1751), 2,105 feet above the sea: we walked up to the top and back in spite of two tempting chairs provided

by the Collector, and the view was well worth the climb. The military strength of the rock is remarkable, and the enormous labour needed to build the huge walls, ramparts and bastions which protect it. At the foot is the British cemetery where Sir Thomas Munro was first buried after his death from cholera on 6th July 1827, when as Governor he was paying a farewell visit to his former district, just before leaving India for good.¹ During his tour in the Bellary district Pentland went to Hampi (pronounced Humpi). Under the guidance of the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Mr. A. H. Longhurst, whose book on *Hampi Ruins* was published in 1917, he saw the deserted glories of the Vijayanagar dynasty: the carvings, the trough 40 feet long made of one stone, the 'elephant stables', the archway where the scales were hung for the king to be weighed against gold for the poor; and stone aqueducts still used for irrigation. A postcard to Peggy and John (whom he called the Bruins) reported:

• Here we are at Humpi
Nobody is grumpy:
Hunting through the ruins
Though without the Bruins.

In fact the governors and powers of the past had left traces of their work in almost every place; Pentland was always attracted by any hint of history in India as he had been at home and tried to follow up any clues and save the memories that vanish away so quickly in India. Early in 1914 he wrote to all former Governors of Madras or their descendants asking for their correct coats-of-arms, which he then got carved in wood and painted at the Madras School of Arts, under the able supervision of Mr. W. S. Hadaway, the Director, in order to set them up round the panelled walls of the dining-room at Government House, Ootacamund. He

wrote to Mr. Hadaway: 'I send you a plan of the panels upon which the arms will be placed so as to give you an idea of the right size for them. I have dotted a square in the middle of these panels giving roughly the position the Arms will have to occupy.' Another heraldic problem which he tackled in detail was a new blazon for the Presidency which should properly combine St. George, the Fort, the palms and the sea; and he sent various drawings home to the Lyon King at Arms for advice. He often entrusted to Mr. Hadaway careful plans and exact measurements for work such as furniture for Government House, or silver challenge cups for prizes, and many were their deliberations over designs. One of his interests on the tours was in discovering and bringing back examples of the skill of workers in the arts and crafts practised in different parts of the Presidency.

After the War began he made the tours as simple as possible, and planned them for business only; residents in the different districts were encouraged to express their loyal welcome in gifts to the Madras War Fund, instead of spending money on caskets, decorations and illuminations. Writing on 1st January 1915, Lord Crewe says: 'Your description of your tour is excellent reading,' which referred to a western circuit in the autumn of 1914 of which Pentland had written: 'Beginning with one corner of Malabar and another of Tinnevelly, we traversed Travancore from Cape Comorin to the Cochin frontier, first by road, and then further north by back-water as far as Cochin itself. In both these States the scenery is most attractive; life is easy, for the produce of less than a dozen coco-nut palms will support a whole family, and the people seem well nourished and healthy. Both the Maharaja of Travancore and the Raja of Cochin are of the serious type, the administrations seem well manned and progressive, and their expenditure

upon education and medical aid compare very favourably with what we are able to afford in the Madras Presidency.'

In the Malabar district he 'paid a visit to Monsieur l'Administrateur de Mahé, a place of about 8,000 inhabitants, with two other little *enclaves* of French territory. We saw a sardine canning factory where every process is completed except the tin-plate for the sardine tins, managed by a capable-looking French-woman who might have been sitting taking the *addition* at the Café Voisin. After a French *déjeuner*, with vin de Bordeaux, and speeches in our most graceful French (ahem!), we drank the healths of the King and M. le Président de la République. . . . Another interesting day was a visit to our agricultural farm of Taliparamba where pepper, ginger, chillies, turmeric and other dry crops are grown.' From Mudabidri in South Canara, he writes of 'the big Jain image of Gurumata 42 feet 6 inches in height, date 1434; a single stone cut out of the rocky hill on which it stands. A lovely show of red lotus, and a tank of the glorious sacred white ones, sold to pilgrims and temples. Under one of the bastis there is a collection of Jain manuscripts on palm leaves; Rs. 9,000 was paid recently to the swami by some Jains from a distance to transcribe only one of these; year by year they are decaying into dust.'

Later in 1914 he went north to the districts of Godavari and Kistna, and wrote from Rajahmundry: 'This house is in a charming position on a height on the left bank of the river Godavari just below the railway bridge, beyond which are the Agency hills. The river is a mile and 6 furlongs wide from this point and the prospect must be a perpetual refreshment at all times.' And after going up the river to Polavaram, he writes: 'We have been lucky in our day; it has been cool, and a breeze, and a boat. It is a noble river all through: the narrow part of the gorge faintly resembling the Rhine.'

Duck and teal bagged by some of the party from the steamer, and a long shot fired at a crocodile, without result.'

In 1915 he began with a visit to the rock citadels of Gingi, an old Vijayanagar stronghold in South Arcot; and, in a bungalow once occupied by Clive, stayed with Khan Bahadur Muhammad Aziz-ud-din, I.S.O., C.I.E., the only Mussalman Collector just then: 'a regular character, a shrewd capable man who has his eyes everywhere; has thirty-two years' service during which he has taken two fortnights on leave!' At Vellore, in North Arcot, Pentland took steps to preserve the tombs of Tippu Sultan's family, and saw something of the Muhammadan community there. He paid the first of his visits to the Fort and temple, to the Police School, and to Dr. Ida Scudder's Mission Hospital. He was much interested, too, in the carpet-making at the Vellore Jail, and in their experiments with vegetable versus aniline dyes. This question was most important in the War when many weaving industries had their supplies of dye cut off, and he encouraged further inquiries and trials by experts.

From Chandragiri in the Chittoor District, he wrote in July 1915: 'To Tirumalai Temple on the top of the hill, and walked all round the car streets (where the god is taken in the temple car during festival processions) preceded by two men on horses, the second provided with kettle drums; the god was brought out for us to see. The annual number of pilgrims was given to me as $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs¹; temple property extends ten miles round and the Mahant spends a considerable time each year touring and adjusting business with the ryots. Temple funds draw two lakhs of rupees revenue in one taluk, and one lakh 30 thousand in another. Liston went off to look for a tiger which took a cow four days ago; the rest of us walked down the whole way to Chandragiri.

¹ A Lakh = 100,000.

The view from Tirupati is striking, rather like the Salisbury Crags [Edinburgh]. We were frantically hot when we got back to the Mahal.' At Cuddapah, known for its heat and its melons, 'exceptional—auspicious—rain helped. Garden party very successful: good exhibition of forestry and other industrial products in the neighbourhood (notes attached) of which I bought some samples this morning.'

From Kurnool he wrote: 'The Raja of Jatprole shot his 100th tiger not long ago; his daughter has shot several too, and her younger sister has shot a panther. . . . After seeing the operations of an indigo vat we all got into a coracle—a large round basket boat—and were paddled down the Tungabhadra River.' At his suggestion a coracle regatta was arranged, where he offered prizes for the ferry boatmen. Twelve coracles took part, the Nawab of Banganapalle's son winning one heat, and spectators crowded the embankment. This was on Sunday, but 'with the cordial concurrence of the chaplain who summoned his school to come and look on. Then immediately afterwards church, at 6.15.' It was the year before, at Masulipatam, that he heard a sermon on the centenary of the Church of England in India (2nd December 1914) and noted that the sermon quoted Bishop Wilson as having said that India was 'worth living in, worth working for, and worth restoring to greatness'.

In 1915, too, Pentland saw the Rock of Trichinopoly—not illuminated, on account of the War;—the great temples and colleges there and in Tanjore and Kumbakonam, representing the essence of Brahman culture and orthodoxy; the crowded University classes of lads deep in abstruse questions; in the evening, at their celebrated Vani Vilas Sabha or dramatic society, they acted *Twelfth Night* and Tamil dramas in turn. His parting view there was of a ferry-boat full of students in white dhoties,

reflected in the Cauvery River against the sunset, and the paddyfields and gopurams beyond. In Kumbakonam a group of Brahman ladies, secluded until then, came out to present Rs. 2,350 for the War Fund. From Madras in December 1915 he went off again, 'after a fairly equitable hustle,' to the Telugu districts of Guntur and Nellore, where he writes of 'fine bracing cool mornings', and 'crowds rather more demonstrative than in the Tamil country', of all the American mission work there, and the Salvation Army Settlement for Criminal Tribes. As the *Madras Mail* pointed out, 'H.E. the Governor has now completed a tour of all the districts in the Presidency within three years, an unusual achievement which gives Lord Pentland the advantage of knowledge gained on the spot.'

The chief pleasure of what he called 'this restless system of perambulation' was the chance it gave him of making acquaintance with district officers and of meeting leading Indian gentlemen of the mufassal in their own homes, on their native soil, the true way of getting to know people. Especially with regard to his hosts, whether Rajas or officials, his stay in their guest-houses or bungalows admitted him to a knowledge of themselves and their families, their tastes, experiences and anxieties, which made them real friends for good. Mr. M. E. Couchman, I.C.S., C.S.I., late Board of Revenue, Madras, writes: 'Lord Pentland possessed in a very high degree the art of making people feel at ease with him. I well remember his visit as Governor of Madras to the district of which I was Collector. It was the first governor's visit of which I had had experience as a Collector, and I had never met Lord Pentland before. On such occasions, one has a thousand and one things to think of in connection with the tour, and I was, therefore, anticipating his arrival with mixed feelings, as much of the success of the tour depends on first impres-

sions. The charming smile and the easy natural dignity of his manner as he stepped out of the train, at once removed all my apprehensions. Manners such as Lord Pentland's were no mere society veneer, but, as one learnt to know more and more on closer acquaintance, were the fine flower of a truly kind heart and quick intuitive understanding of those he met. Thus the tour, which is usually somewhat of an ordeal, was a delightful experience. A shrewd and subtle intellect lay in the background, and my first impression, confirmed in after years by closer acquaintance, was that in Lord Pentland the Madras Presidency had as governor a true embodiment of the best Liberal spirit, full of genuine goodwill to all, but at the same time clear-sighted and not easily taken in.' Sir N. E. Marjoribanks, I.C.S., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., now Member of the Madras Executive Council, says: 'Lord Pentland's kindness and distaste of fuss made his district visits very pleasant for his official hosts on the social side; on the official, his shrewdness and sagacity and knowledge of men and affairs made a great impression on me. . . . He took a keen interest in district officers' work and instituted the system of Collectors' Conferences which we have recently revived. His suggestions as to the appropriate line of political advance are on record. I don't know if they could be published. But I fancy their correctness will be proved when the time comes to decide on the next advance in political matters in India.'

The idea of a Collectors' Conference, mentioned by Sir N. E. Marjoribanks, was suggested by Pentland in 1914; the first was held in 1915 and another in 1917. He wrote to the Secretary of State in September 1915: 'The Collectors' Conference has been pronounced by all present to have been a useful experiment. It was the first of the kind in the presidency, and was attended by 15 out of a total of 25 Collectors. They were invited

beforehand to name the topics which they wished to bring forward, and the discussions, in which Collectors, Secretaries to Government, Members of the Board of Revenue and of the Executive Council all took some part, were to the point and decidedly helpful.'

VIII

THE WAR

THE War came and swept away doings of the present and designs for the future. For himself and for others, Pentland's one aim now was to direct thought and energy towards helping the needs of the War. Like every one else he had a heavy heart all the time, but outwardly he kept calm whether there was good news, bad news or, owing to the censorship, no news.

In September 1914 he wrote to Lord Morley, who on the declaration of war had resigned his office of Lord President of the Council in the Liberal Government: 'I must write and say how sorry I am to think that in these critical times you are no longer among our pilots. . . . You may imagine that the crisis came upon us quiet people here like a thunder-clap, as indeed it seems to have come upon many people even in Europe: and in spite of our newspapers, including the faithful *Manchester Guardian*, which are our main source of information *pace* the Censor, there is much which is obscure and still to be known: much too which will, I dare say, never be known. Everything for which we have hoped and worked seems to have fallen into irretrievable ruin. And it is puzzling to think that it should actually have fallen upon a Liberal Government to guide and unite the country as apparently no other Government could have done at the moment, during this gigantic struggle. They have a heavy load and the end is difficult to see.'

On Christmas Day 1914 he wrote to Lord Aberdeen: 'There are occasions to which it is difficult to apply "*Passi graviora*" (Kimberley's frequent observation to C.-B. in the dark days)', and to his friend Mr. P. A. Molteno, M.P., he said: 'Work here leaves little leisure and it is all I can do to keep up with home political developments. . . . It was burnt into me by the experience during the Boer War that under such conditions reason and argument are powerless. This of course is ten times worse, but I am equally confident that reason will return. My only personal regret is that I am so far away and not able to take my share of bad weather with you all. All of us who are here feel that we are somewhat remote from the intensity of the strain at home and even the thought that we are doing all we can to help from here is sometimes no consolation for absence.' Later in the same year he wrote: 'Have written letters of sympathy to Dr. Whyte, G. Adam Smith, Cawley M.P.; it is really agonizing to think of all the bright spirits gone, and of the darkness and misery of those that mourn them.'

His staff dispersed to the different fields of action; he often wrote to them and, as he said at the end of a letter of news to Captain R. H. V. Cavendish, Grenadier Guards, an A.D.C. who had left for France in August: 'Our thoughts are with you all, wishing we could help you more.'

Sir Alexander Cardew says: 'With greater clearness than most people, Lord Pentland realized the magnitude of the crisis, and the lengthy nature of the struggle in which the British Empire was involved. His first contribution to the emergency was the creation of the Madras War Fund, which he established on the 11th of August 1914, to give help to the British and Indian troops. Conceived, inspired and directed by him, this Fund was entirely a Madras affair, and by the middle of September,

before other provinces had formed separate funds, it reached seventeen lakhs of rupees, a sum equal to what had then been received from the whole of India for the Imperial Indian Relief Fund. Altogether the Madras War Fund raised nearly seventy-four lakhs of rupees, making with other special funds a total of nearly a hundred lakhs from Madras, besides six lakhs for the Viceroy's 'Our Day' Fund, and nearly eighteen lakhs for the Imperial Indian Relief Fund. For a poor province such as Madras this was a remarkable performance. With this money was provided, equipped and maintained until May 1918 the Hospital Ship *Madras*; and many other activities of the Madras War Fund were initiated and directed by Lord Pentland, whose enthusiasm for the cause never waned and who lavished personal attention upon every detail of the work.'

After a series of telegrams to the generous Rajas who wished to offer help, Pentland was able to start the Fund with eight and a half lakhs of rupees (= £59,000 at the current rate of 1s. 6d. to the rupee) from the first four names on the list, and the total mounted quickly in the first few weeks. There were of course many suggestions for the best way of applying the money, and in order to meet all wishes it was decided to add both to the fighting and non-fighting forces. Three hundred and fifty-two horses for officers' chargers—most of them first-class polo ponies—were bought in all parts of India and sent to England, 226 on 27th October and 126 on 17th November 1914. Both officially and privately Lord Kitchener sent messages to say that he was delighted to get them and that the demand for horses was very great.

The Madras War Fund also equipped and trained and despatched within the first few months the Madras Motor Cyclists' Corps, of thirty young Englishmen employed in the Presidency. They did distinguished

service in France; twenty-four were promoted to the rank of commissioned officer; several received decorations; several were killed, and others wounded.

The idea of a hospital ship found favour with everybody, but all inquiries failed to find a single vessel available anywhere. Sir Harold Stuart, then first member of Council, was full of praise over 'H.E.'s' successful stroke in cabling to Lord Inchcape, the Chairman of the B.I.S.N. Co., who replied promising to send for charter one of their new ships of 7,000 tons. She had been designed for eastern cooly traffic, not for cargo, and therefore was specially suitable for conversion into a hospital. With some trepidation Pentland undertook on behalf of the Madras War Fund to keep the ship afloat for six months. The hire of the ship, with coal and water, cost one lakh (= 100,000 rupees or £7,500 at the present rate) a month, and the hospital expenses were about Rs. 30,000 a month, so this meant raising by voluntary effort a lakh and a half a month. It was essential therefore to have a guaranteed monthly income, so Pentland endeavoured to get as many monthly subscriptions as possible. Lord Inchcape led the way by giving Rs. 10,000 p.m., which he afterwards increased to Rs. 20,000; and other generous contributions came regularly from Chiefs and Rajas, from firms, from the members of the Government services, both European and Indian, and from many other sources. Even so, these came to only about half the necessary sum, and how to secure the large monthly amount which had to be assured for some time ahead was always an anxiety. It was provided from the proceeds of entertainments and efforts all over the Presidency, and from all kinds of patriotic gifts. Among the Rulers of States and Rajas who gave splendid subscriptions and donations were: the Raja of Vizianagram, the Maharaja of Venkatagiri, G.C.I.E., H.H. the Raja of Pudukota, G.C.I.E., H.H. the Maharaja of Travancore, G.C.S.I.,

G.C.I.E., the Raja of Pithapuram, C.B.E., the Maharaja of Bobbili, G.C.I.E., C.B.E., the Maharaja of Jeypore, K.C.I.E., H.H. the ex-Raja of Cochin, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., the Nawab of Banganapalle, the Raja of Venkatagiri, the Raja of Parlakimedi, the Raja of Ettyapuram, the Prince of Arcot, G.C.I.E., Rao Sahib Sir Muthia Chettiyar, H.H. the Maharaja of Cochin, G.C.I.E., the Raja of Ramnad, the minor Zamindar of Mirzapur, the minor Zamindar of South Valluru, the Rani Sahiba of Wadhwan, the Zamindar of Telaprole, Rao Sahib Sir S. R. M. Annamalai Chettiyar. These are only some among those who gave the larger sums; every one else showed the same willing service, and what Madras did was of course only part of the striking efforts that were made all over India.

Lieut.-Colonel Giffard, I.M.S., C.S.I. (afterwards Major-General Sir Gerald Giffard, K.C.I.E.), was appointed Commanding Officer of the ship with a staff of six other medical officers, eight assistant surgeons, eight nurses, besides medical students and a large subordinate staff. Pentland wrote to him on 10th September: 'Now it is essential that this enterprise should be of the first class throughout, but at the same time it is not less essential that we should exercise a most rigid prudence and economy in all our arrangements, all the more because at present no limit can be placed on the duration of this campaign. I am bound to say this emphatically on behalf of the subscribers who have been so generous. In order to give full opportunity to those who wish to provide non-medical supplies I should like to know at once, precisely in detail, the numbers and measurements of all such articles required: blankets, linen, crockery, etc. . . . As to staff, room should be found for as many Indians as possible, in order that they may have even more than their share of the experience and opportunities which this undertaking may afford . . . and probably 90 per



SOME OF THE SUBSCRIBERS TO THE MADRAS WAR FUND
WITH THE HOSPITAL SHIP STAFF, ON BOARD H.S. MADRAS, NOVEMBER 1914

cent. of the money subscribed will come from Indian gentlemen.'

For the purpose of supplying Red Cross articles and other comforts for the troops, the Ladies' Depôt of the Madras War Fund was started. Mrs. F. F. Elwes, O.B.E., was a devoted and popular Work Secretary throughout the War, and in eighty-four centres all over the Presidency British and Indian ladies worked at getting up funds and making or collecting supplies for the Madras Hospital Ships, and for help of every kind for our men in all parts as the needs arose. These gifts of hospital requisites, food, tobacco, literature, games, gramophones and so on, were sent all the time in millions by the ladies of the Ladies' Depôt, who raised their own revenues of nearly four lakhs of rupees. The workers were rewarded by receiving numberless letters like these: 'The things will prove most useful and certainly very materially add to our comforts or perhaps I should say lessen some of our discomforts.' 'The gauze covers for food are absolutely invaluable on account of the plague of flies and are not obtainable here. The insect powder and dubbin are also greatly in demand as they cannot be obtained.' 'The box arrived and was without exception the nicest and most sensible box I have seen since the war began. Everything in it was of use and I wish you could have seen the men's appreciation.' 'The things sent are exactly what we want and it is quite impossible for me to say how much they are appreciated.'

The waste of war was soon seen near by. In the first half of September the German light cruiser *Emden* sank ships coming out of Calcutta to the value of three-quarters of a million pounds. And, strange though it seems, out-of-the-way Madras was the first place in the Empire to undergo attack by any of our enemies in the war. At an early hour on 23rd September, the Chief Secretary rode up to Government House, Ootacamund,

as we were starting out to ride, and pulled out a telegram: 'Madras was bombarded last night'!! Pentland went down there and wrote to the Viceroy, after describing the casualties and damage: 'The *Emden* seems to have fired 25 shells . . . our guns managed to fire three shots, the last of which was followed by the *Emden's* extinguishing her lights and steaming out to sea. . . . Crowds assembled on the beach . . . the attraction not the *Emden* herself but the huge and leaping flames of two enormous oil tanks which the *Emden's* shells set on fire . . . containing three or four lakhs' worth of oil.' Later he wrote again to the Viceroy: 'The captain of our Hospital Ship entertains what is to me a novel theory, that the *Emden* and her collier having lowered masts and funnels may quite possibly be lying *perdue* in the lagoon of some atoll in the Maldives until the hunt may be over and she may safely sally out again and listen for news.' This is just what she had done; and on a visit to Cochin in October Pentland heard more about her ways, as the crews of seven vessels recently sunk by her had been landed there the week before. They reported that the Germans knew the whereabouts of our cruisers from our wireless: one of the first things the officers did on boarding a ship was to collect all newspapers to obtain information about movements of shipping. Their only object in bombarding Madras was to destroy the oil tanks. Their knowledge of the Maldives was marvellous; they passed in and out of the atolls without hesitation and must have had excellent charts. The Secretary of State, Lord Crewe, wrote on 24th September: 'I feel as though we in England owe you and your quietly delightful capital an apology for the *Emden's* assault; but . . . I trust that before you get this the *Emden* will have been captured or sunk; four ships (I may tell you in confidence) are giving their attention to her.' It was not, however, until 9th November 1914 that the raider, who had observed

the correct traditions of warfare in her exploits, was sunk by H.M. Australian cruiser *Sydney* in the Cocos-Keeling Islands.

The B.I. ship *Tanda* arrived safely in Madras harbour from Rangoon, full of coal, on 12th October 1914, and on 17th November she sailed out for East Africa as the clean white Hospital Ship *Madras*, with 300 beds, operating theatre, X-ray and sterilizing rooms, and all the latest apparatus. The hurried activities of that month of oppressive heat were equal to the ship's later achievements. As the shipyards at Bombay and Calcutta were so busy, Pentland decided to attempt dismantling and refitting her in Madras. Experts were doubtful, for there was no dry dock and attendant facilities, and no one there had any experience of a hospital ship. But Colonel Giffard set himself to the task with his usual energy, assisted by Captain W. B. Huddleston, R.I.M., C.M.G., Sir Francis Spring and the workmen of the M. and S.M. Railway. Some years later Colonel Giffard wrote of this time in the War Fund Report: 'Every firm and every company and every individual gave most willing help; the work of transition from B.I. to Hospital Ship was a labour of love for every Madrasi and all went through merrily. Our great difficulty in Madras was that no one had ever seen a Hospital Ship. On further consideration this was found to be no real disadvantage because . . . whilst the Army Regulations of the old days did not contemplate fitting out any Hospital Ship to be equal to a first-class Civil hospital, the *Madras* was equipped and staffed in exactly the same way as a large Madras Civil Hospital.' General Giffard describes how at that time it was not considered possible for European nurses to look after sepoys, or for European soldiers to be treated in the same hospital as sepoys; and how in both these matters H.S. *Madras* was the pioneer and her example was followed by other military hospitals and

ambulances. Another unique feature was that she carried students who had lectures from the officers, and did very well in their examinations afterwards. He went on to tell how in one day, and hardly without loss, though the goods were well worth stealing, the whole valuable medical and food equipment was transferred from the godowns at Springhaven to the hold of the ship, and later during the voyage to East Africa, how 'for three days in a doldrums, the whole hospital staff, C.O., officers, assistant surgeons, students and ward-boys, all pouring with sweat, worked like coolies carrying everything up from the hold for the nurses to distribute in the wards. It was then I recognized for the second time that there would be no difficulty about getting work out of the staff, and that work can become an amusement: that enthusiasm prevailed over the whole enterprise. . . . When we arrived in Bombay the first time from East Africa with our cargo of wounded from the battle of Tanga we received a most hearty welcome from Their Excellencies the Governor and Lady Willingdon. One might have supposed that possibly the efforts of a sister and in some ways a rival Presidency might have been courteously but coldly received by Bombay. Exactly the opposite, however, was the nature of our reception. During the whole time the ship worked in Bombay we received the greatest kindness and hospitality from Lord and Lady Willingdon and Their Excellencies visited the ship on several occasions.'

On her maiden voyage to Mombasa in November 1914, *H.S. Madras* was fitted out to carry 300 beds; six months later the number was increased to 500, and in 1916 again to 600. Up to 31st May 1918, when she was handed over to the Army Department, she made three double voyages to Mombasa, twenty-seven to Basra, eleven to Suez, two to Alexandria, thirteen to Shat-el-Arab. She carried up to that date 595 British officers,

5,177 British rank and file, 313 Indian officers, 16,682 Indian rank and file, and 407 German and Turkish prisoners. There were hopes that the ship would be sent on a voyage home, and this was sanctioned and arranged more than once, but the military authorities had to change their plans. The efforts of the staff were all the more heroic, for at every season the ship plodded to and fro through the appalling heat of the Persian Gulf, which every one seemed to think more trying than anything else they had ever felt.

Captain Hugh Stott, I.M.S., O.B.E., Surgeon to the Governor, was one of the ship's medical staff, and he wrote: 'During the first year of the war, her military value was almost incalculable. The *Madras* was the only Hospital Ship available for the Government of India in Eastern waters. What she meant to and achieved for the sick and wounded of Mesopotamia and East Africa during 1914 and 1915 will rest among her most cherished records. In Mesopotamia it was a common saying that time was measured by the *Madras*—when she left and when she would come again. . . . And what of her history from the social aspect? There we were thrown together at sea, all shades of colour, creed and caste, with patients amongst whom might be reckoned Britishers (from Australia, Canada or Africa), Indians (Baluchis, Bengalis, Brahmans, Dorgas, Garwhalis, Jats, Madrasis, Mahrattas, Pathans, Parsis, Punjabis, Rajputs or Sikhs), Mongolians (Gurkhas, Chinese, Burmese or Nagas), Africans (Egyptians, Nigerians, men of the King's African Rifles), West Indians, and enemy prisoner subjects (Germans, Austrians, Turks, Kurds and Arabs) and we all pulled together and very well indeed!'

The Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., who, like his brother Lord Wenlock, had held the office of Governor of Madras, was appointed in 1916 Red Cross Commissioner to Mesopotamia, and in a

little book called *A Message from Mesopotamia*, he wrote in 1917: 'Of all the work accomplished by voluntary effort for the sick and wounded in this great war, none has been more effective or more valuable than that which has been done by the Hospital Ship *Madras*. Immediately on the outbreak of war she was acquired by the citizens of the Madras Presidency, transformed, equipped and manned with such celerity that so early as November 1914 she was able to set out perfected, so far as human agency may attain perfection, in design, construction and—most important of all—control and direction, for the convoy of five hundred sick and wounded men. Having rendered services of incalculable value to the troops in East Africa, she was towards the autumn of 1915 diverted for service in the Persian Gulf. She was the first Hospital Ship to cross the bar and make her way to Basra, and for many months she was the only Hospital Ship in Tigris waters. For over two years and a half she has moved on a constant and unfailing course of mercy, and it is by thousands that the number may now be computed of those who have been helped back to health and hope by as devoted and unselfish a body of men and women as ever set out to heal the sick. During the last week in January 1917 I found myself on board the *Madras* steaming up the Persian Gulf. As a non-combatant and Red Cross Commissioner, I could without impropriety travel in a Hospital Ship, and it was perhaps not altogether inappropriate that I should be a passenger in a vessel bearing the name of the Presidency with which my family and I have been intimately associated in days gone by.'

Another officer connected with Madras wrote from Mesopotamia: 'The Hospital Ship has earned a reputation for Madras that makes one proud to be connected with the Presidency.' A British officer wrote: 'I cannot speak too highly of the comforts the Hospital Ship

Madras affords; as an officer I was struck by the excellent administration of the ship; as a layman in medicine I could only judge the medical work by the extraordinary improvement in most of the patients' health and appearance considering the short time they were on board; I myself was operated upon and had a bullet extracted on board. On my arrival a few days later in Bombay I had great difficulty in making anyone believe that I was a wounded officer.' In a letter of gratitude from two Indian officers they said: 'With such a staff and such complete equipment it is no wonder that the reputation of the ship has spread throughout British East Africa. Our first duty when we reach Kapurthala will be to inform our Maharaja Sahib Bahadur of the merits of the floating hospital, which the Madrasis may well be proud of.'

Major-General Symons, I.M.S., C.S.I., O.B.E., now Director-General of Indian Medical Services, who sailed with the H.S. *Madras* in 1914, and who was the Commanding Officer from 1915 to 1918, writes: 'It was in my capacity as O.C. Ship that I had frequent occasions either to write to His Excellency or to pay a hurried visit to Madras to consult him. Lord Pentland was always out to help, both as concerned the Ship and its working in connection with other Hospital Ships. I found him full of sympathy with the Ship's staff in the work which they were carrying on, and he could never do enough for the sick and wounded. In matters connected with the administration I found him very quick to grasp the essential points, no easy matter I may say, considering most of the points raised were concerning matters of which he had no personal knowledge; and he never hesitated to give a quick definite ruling. Once the ruling was given I always felt that he would back me up in giving effect to the same. He believed also in the good maxim of trusting the man on the spot; after

I had presented my case to the best of my ability and possibly had ventured an opinion, he would remark, "Very well, if that is the opinion of your officers and yourself I, of course, agree with it." I never wish to work for a better man! One always felt one knew where one was and that if he said he would see you through he jolly well would do so.'

In February 1916 Pentland telegraphed to General Sir Percy Lake, K.C.B., commanding the I.E.F. at Basra: 'Am informed Travelling First Aid River Hospital might be valuable auxiliary . . . if you desire this Madras War Fund will immediately fit up completely equip and staff one such flat as Emergency Aid dispensary.' The offer was accepted and a river hospital ship to carry 150 patients was equipped, and maintained from April 1916 to May 1918. During that time the *Sikkim* carried 927 British officers, 11,641 British other ranks, 97 Indian officers, 8,496 Indian other ranks, and 254 Turkish prisoners of war. Lieut.-Colonel E. W. Bradfield, I.M.S., O.B.E., C.I.E., the Commanding Officer, in the course of letters in 1917, said: 'We have had the luck to be in Basra harbour at the same time as the *Madras*, which is still the most popular of Hospital Ships. It is not possible for us to show lists of successful operations as the *Madras* can, since our patients stay with us too short a time. While the fighting has been taking place, we have been beating all our previous records for rapid journeys between Sheik Saad and Amara; the *Sikkim* has the honour of carrying all the seriously wounded cases and we like the extra work which this entails. As I prophesied, the presence of Nursing Sisters has added greatly to our efficiency and we now feel that we can almost rival the *Madras* in the comfort we provide for our passengers.'

Mr. V. Z. Cope, a surgeon who was attached to the *Sikkim* for a short time, wrote: 'The *Sikkim* is a shallow

draught boat with two decks and is equipped to carry about 150 patients. The beds are arranged in two tiers on each deck, and every comfort is provided for the sick and wounded. The vessel is indeed a veritable *multum in parvo* and the wonderful way in which things and people are packed constantly excited my admiration. Electric light, electric fans, a very hygienic soda-water factory (and none of you who are at home realize what that means in a land where the water supply is such a great problem), a plentiful tankage to store and sterilize water, a fine bathroom with a beautiful enamelled bath (and here again only those who have had to use the camp kit bath can appreciate) and a commissariat both varied and plentiful, combined to make life on the boat something of a luxury. What the patients thought of it can be expressed best by what one of the released prisoners from Kut said when he came on the boat: "Why, it's 'Eaven after 'Ell.'"

In May 1918 the Government of India wrote that they considered 'that the direction and financing of these two hospital ships ought to be undertaken by Government and not by private charity', so they were handed over to the Army Department. Sir Gordon Fraser said at a Madras War Fund meeting later: 'The Hospital Ship *Madras* has always done so well and been so well spoken of by everybody who had anything to do with her, that I personally, and I am sure others also, felt a certain degree of what I might call sentimental disappointment when she was handed over to Government.' Writing to Major H. F. Collingridge, 2/9 Gurkhas, lately Military Secretary, in Mesopotamia, Pentland said: 'The Army Department want to have all the hospital ships in one service, so they say: no doubt sensible enough. But the people of the Presidency have got so accustomed to supporting the H.S. *Madras* that I rather fear they will not be quite so generous for any other purpose. It will certainly

lighten the work in the office of the Military Secretary as you very well know.'

This remark referred to the fact that each Military Secretary to the Governor had in turn acted as Honorary Secretary of the War Fund (Lieut.-Colonel Allanson, C.I.E., D.S.O., 1/5 Gurkhas, Captain W. S. E. Money, 22nd Cavalry, Major H. F. Collingridge, 2/9 Gurkhas, Lieut.-Colonel R. G. Munn, C.M.G., 36th Sikhs, Captain L. M. Peet, 6th Jat L.I.), and as the Governor said at one of the meetings, 'one Military Secretary after another has given most devoted service to the Fund. It has been carried on at a minimum of expense, for Mr. H. R. Bird, M.B.E., Manager of the Military Secretary's Office, who was Assistant Honorary Secretary throughout the War, has worked with the utmost sympathy, labour and sacrifice, and the Fund could certainly not have got on without him.'

Whether he was on tour or at head-quarters, all War Fund business came before the President and he thought of many fresh points himself, so it added considerably to his correspondence. Besides directing the work he was always thinking out entertainments, fêtes, exhibitions, competitions, and especially any ways of raising money that might be intrinsically interesting or attractive. For instance he wrote to me at Ooty: 'As to the school children's war effort, could you not have something of a May Day business in Government Gardens?' But his share in any proposal was kept as dark as possible: he wrote to me another time: 'Why *do* they put "at the suggestion of the Governor"? It ought to be their own bright idea!'

The Bodyguard to the Governor also gave their service. At first they trained remounts and then in March 1916 Pentland wrote to General Sir Beauchamp Duff, the Commander-in-Chief in India, to offer 'a field troop of fifty from the Bodyguard for foreign service . . . a

mixed troop of Muhammadans and Hindus, partly directly enlisted, partly transferred from Indian cavalry regiments. They are armed with the latest pattern short service rifle. They have Seetabuldee on their colours and a century ago served with distinction in Persia.' Accordingly they were despatched to Mesopotamia, under their Commandant, Captain W. S. E. Money, and were the only Governor's Bodyguard to go on active service.

General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., then Inspector-General of Communication, M.E.F., wrote in 1918: 'The *Madras* comes regularly to clear our hospitals here and is, as you know, a model of efficiency and equipment, and there are many thousands of all ranks and races who owe their health and their lives to the care received on her. . . . The *Sikkim* from her shallow draught is able to work well ahead of Baghdad even and work close to the fighting troops; and her services have been invaluable, equally as much now in shallow waters as in the earlier days when she was one of the few stern-wheelers that survived the journey here and we had no hospital craft. She has done more continuous work than any other vessel of her kind. The fresh vegetables which the Madras gardeners have turned out have been of the greatest benefit to the troops in the vicinity.' For Madras had the distinction of supplying the first Gardeners' Corps in the history of the Army. Its origin is seen from the following extracts from Pentland's letters. On 23rd December 1916 he wrote to Captain (now Major) Hugh Stott, I.M.S., O.B.E., then serving in H.S. *Madras*: 'I propose to defer answering your letter until I can consider in detail the suggestion about vegetable growing in Mesopotamia.' On 6th January 1917 he said: 'We are at work on details. . . . I have telegraphed to the G.O.C. at Basra'; and on 29th January: 'We are hard at work endeavouring to organize

a Gardeners' Corps.' This was another pioneer undertaking which again was no light task, and it was fortunate for the Fund to have an officer of Colonel Munn's experience to help the staff of the Corps in getting it together. On 27th March 1917 Pentland wrote to Major-General Sir Arthur Money, K.C.B., with the M.E.F., Basra: '... This evening our Madras Gardeners' Corps, about 250 strong (under Captain Kirwan, I.A.R.O., late M.V.G., now a planter in Mysore, for many years Secretary to the Horticultural Society in Madras, and 2nd Lieut. Alan Fraser, I.A.R.O.), leave Madras on the way to Mesopotamia. The men have been most carefully selected. . . .'

Captain L. E. Kirwan wrote later: 'When at the end of 1916 the idea of sending a corps of gardeners to Mesopotamia was taken up by H.E. the Governor, Kut had not been re-taken, and our troops, both British and Indian, were suffering much from scurvy, owing to the fact that their daily ration included no green food. One can well understand therefore the readiness with which H.E.'s offer to send out a corps of gardeners to Mesopotamia for a year was accepted by the late Lieut.-General Sir Stanley Maude, at that time Army Commander; and although Baghdad had been captured and much of the produce of its gardens made available for the troops ere we appeared, there is no doubt that our arrival was heartily welcomed by high and low.' Captain Kirwan describes how Lieutenant Fraser and 100 of the men went to work on a garden near Sheik Saad, where the output of vegetables during the next ten months amounted to 700,000 lb.; while he himself and the other 150 men were sent on to Baghdad and given a block of 50 acres for their garden. '... By the middle of July—the hottest July I believe on record—we succeeded in getting about 40 acres under cultivation and sown with cucumbers, pumpkins, melons, etc. . . . A little flower garden

of such simple plants as zinnias, cosmos, hollyhocks, convolvulus, mignonette, cassia, etc., grown from Indian seed, which I started in July near the edge of the river, prospered exceedingly and later on delighted the eyes of our many guests, for by this time our fame had spread far and wide, and we had visitors almost daily, especially of convalescents from the various hospitals, and I heard a distinguished medical officer remark one day that we had 'the best convalescent camp in all Mesopotamia'. Altogether we grew in our garden near Baghdad about 185 tons of vegetables and owing to our late start it was especially precious, being marketed at a time when other vegetables were scarce. It was gratifying to learn subsequently that in the opinion of the G.O.C. in Mesopotamia, our example had effectively stimulated local produce. Besides growing vegetables, we were also privileged to be of service to many British Indian units, for G.H.Q. having ordered that soldiers' gardens were to be encouraged in every way, there arose a great demand for plants and seeds, and for advice as to how to grow vegetables. All of these we supplied to the best of our ability.'

The Madras War Fund also received many special gifts such as aeroplanes, and motor ambulances, and large sums of money in aid of war expenditure; and often distributed special grants for needs in many directions, such as soda-water machines, Yost fans, laboratory microscopes, Christmas gifts and other additions to the hospitals and units in East Africa, Mesopotamia and India, or towards the comfort and recreation of the men whether ill, convalescent or well. In 1916 Pentland wrote to Mr. Herman, Y.M.C.A. Secretary in Madras : '... There is a large number of British sick and convalescent soldiers at Wellington ... a Y.M.C.A. hut would have a splendid field if efficiently manned. Can you not organize this? I write after consulting Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Phayre

who heartily concurs . . . anything done should be done through him and quickly . . . I will gladly help to raise funds.' In 1917 the War Fund gave Rs. 6,000 to establish the Y.M.C.A. 'Madras Hut' in Baghdad; and it also granted considerable sums towards the work of other Y.M.C.A. huts and convalescent depôts in Mesopotamia and India; to the East Indies Naval Station Fund, King George's Fund for Sailors, and other efforts. The Madras War Fund also undertook to supply all Red Cross comforts required by the twenty-three military hospitals and convalescent depôts in the Presidency.

Early in the War, in order to encourage St. John Ambulance training in South India, Pentland planned an elaborate Ambulance competition and display, which was held in Madras in February 1915. It was organized by Major C. A. F. Hingston, I.M.S., C.S.I., and it was the first on such a scale to take place in India. Crowds of people stood all round 'The Island', a large maidan encircled by the River Cooum, and watched a realistic sham fight carried on under the fire of M.A.V. guns, while teams from the different Volunteer Corps, Police, students, Boy Scouts, lady V.A.D.'S, vied with each other in giving proper ambulance, stretcher-bearer, and first aid assistance. The next year fifty-one teams competed and each year the event became more popular, till in 1919, 135 teams entered from all over the Presidency.

Early in 1915 Pentland wrote to ask Surgeon-General W. B. Bannerman, I.M.S., C.S.I., whether a course of health lectures could not be mapped out; the leading civil surgeons were asked to come and discuss them at Government House, and that cold weather they were started under the auspices of the St. John Ambulance Association, with Major C. A. F. Hingston as Hon. Secretary. The lectures were illustrated by lantern slides and delivered by different authorities on subjects like Malaria, Infant Mortality, Tuberculosis, Milk, Housing,

Water Supply, Dirt, Dental Hygiene, etc. The instances that were disclosed in the course of them, like the rooms measuring 3 feet by 4 feet by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet; the fact that 50 per cent. of children born in Madras died before they were five; the statement that it was impossible to secure pure milk in Madras, and that samples purchased in the bazaar contained 180 million bacteria in half a teaspoonful of milk, prompted the Governor to remark when presiding at one of them that 'it makes one feel like the Irishman who said it's a wonder that anybody lives till he dies'. Some prominent man presided on each occasion, and the lectures drew crowded audiences. They were carried on every season until 1919, when as the outcome of them which he had all along intended, Pentland inaugurated a Health Association 'for promoting healthy conditions of life and work in the Madras Presidency and throughout Southern India'.

Child Welfare was one of its special objects, and the feature of the Christmas Fair in 1918 was an exhibition to illustrate the work already going on under the Corporation at a centre in Triplicane conducted by Miss Vira Singh, M.B. As a newspaper said: 'Babies were to be seen snugly reposing in their comfortable and cosy cradles; the mothers are accommodated on clean mats spread on the floor,' and all the modern appliances for weighing and feeding were on view, with charts and pictures of model schemes in Europe. As Pentland said at the opening meeting of the Health Association: 'the infant mortality question is of special gravity in Madras, and it is a very important matter in these days of repairing the ravages of war.' He appealed to the well-to-do to realize that it is not enough that they alone should obey the laws of health; the heavy toll of life taken by the recent influenza epidemic showed it was impossible for individuals to save themselves. 'But apart from the suffering and distress which ill-health inflicts upon

the individual we cannot disregard the serious economic loss it means for the community. The average expectation of life in this country is much less than in Europe, and if to that is added a longer average period of ill-health, it is a serious handicap, as any economist will tell you. To develop its resources and provide a more complete and generous environment for its peoples, India must therefore most seriously endeavour to free itself from this handicap, and make generous sacrifices of money for this object. As each budget comes round we learn with satisfaction of increased expenditure on medical relief, but if by expenditure on preventive measures we could do something to reduce that burden it would be a double gain.'

About the same time, in March 1919, the Madras War Fund was wound up, and a balance of three lakhs left for a reserve to carry on future Red Cross and Health work in the Presidency.

At a Y.M.C.A. meeting in Madras in 1915, Pentland expressed his real belief when he said: 'The terrible conflict now going on must surely bring home to us not only the waste of it all, the destruction and misery of it all, but also the waste and destruction that goes on around us in times of peace. I remember a great preacher standing in Westminster Abbey; at the end of his sermon he pointed across London, across the houses and streets to the miles and miles of smoke, saying: "If you want to add to the riches of the world, you need not go to South Africa to develop the mines of Johannesburg. Here and now under your eyes the undeveloped riches of this great city lie." It is the same here in the Madras Presidency.'

IX

‘SWADESHI’¹

THE War dominated five out of Pentland’s six and a half years in Madras, and his efforts for the progress of the Presidency had to be carried out under the difficulties caused by that great calamity. For one thing, it cut off the flow of interest, of visitors, of commerce, of personnel, between Europe and India; this was just what he had hoped to encourage.

A few weeks after landing in 1912 he wrote to Professor Patrick Geddes, a friend whose work he had admired and whose schemes they had discussed together since about 1890, asking him to send literature on town-planning. During 1913 the ground was prepared and in February 1914 the Madras Government agreed that if possible Pentland should get Professor Geddes to bring his Town Planning Exhibition to Madras in the following cold weather. In writing to invite Professor Geddes, Pentland suggested that any lecturer should first spend several weeks studying ‘not only the evils to be remedied but the limitations within which we have to work’, and added: ‘Only a master of his subject will succeed in influencing the keen and intelligent audience to which he will have to lecture . . . there are unique opportunities in Madras City which has not yet been spoilt for far-reaching work of this description.’ Professor Geddes agreed to come, choosing the Madras invitation rather than one from the United States, and

¹ The Hindustani word *swadeshi* means literally ‘own country things’, though of late years it has been applied to a movement, started in Bengal, advocating the boycott of foreign goods.

Pentland wrote to him further intimating officially 'the wish of the Bombay and Bengal Governments to share in your visit. The meeting of the National Indian Congress in Madras in December is a happy coincidence, for it will give the delegates an opportunity of seeing your Exhibition. Do not exclude anything likely to be of interest. We have a strong digestion for such things in this country.'

Professor Geddes reached Bombay in October 1914, while the Exhibition was on its way to Madras by sea. But meantime the *Emden* had waylaid many an argosy bound to the Indies with rich ladings. Christmas consignments to the Madras shops, motor-cars for a member of council and lesser individuals, the season's supply of wine for Government House, all had been scattered on the stream. Worst of all, as Pentland wrote: 'The whole of the Town Planning Exhibition has gone to the bottom of the Indian Ocean, sunk by the *Emden* near Minicoy. Geddes has taken it like a sportsman.' The models, drawings, graphs and other material thus destroyed were the result of 35 years' work, but the friends of Professor Geddes at home came to the rescue, and somehow made a fresh collection which they sent out, so that, after all, the exhibition and lectures opened in January 1915. They were largely attended and proved most attractive: they gave the Indian public a new idea of the meaning and possibilities of town planning and of the opportunities of local authorities. When Professor Geddes went on north, where he did much valuable work, Pentland wrote to Mr. Raymond Unwin, Town-Planning Inspector to the Local Government Board in London: 'The Madras Government desire now to appoint a town-planning expert, probably for five years; so in the following season Mr. H. V. Lanchester came out to advise and lecture. These lectures, expanded and illustrated, with a preface by the Governor, were published as a volume called *Town-Planning in Madras*.

Writing to Sir Harold Stuart in July 1914, Pentland said: ‘The vital condition of town development in Madras is better and cheaper locomotion . . . influences will compel an extension of the present inadequate tramway system, or of its equivalent. I suggest that now is the time for the Corporation to step in and acquire the present concern before values begin to rise . . . a piece of municipal finance worthy of Government help.’ Soon afterwards he wrote to his friends Sir John Benn, Chairman of the L.C.C., and Sir D. M. Stevenson, Lord Provost of Glasgow, for information and advice on the municipal ownership of tramways. Another of his suggestions was ‘we do want a proper modern theatre in Madras: in some central situation it might be made an ornament to the city’.

Pentland was sure to have country plans as well as town plans. Before he left Scotland, Sheriff Kennedy remarked in writing to him: ‘It was one of your predecessors in Madras, Sir Thomas Munro, who founded the land system of that Presidency, which bears much likeness to the crofter system.’ In his search for trained experts from the West, Pentland wrote from Madras to an old friend in Canada, Professor James W. Robertson, C.M.G., first Commissioner of Agriculture for the Dominion, ‘There is in India a great field of work in the development of agriculture . . . but what we want is a gold mine or some fairy to provide financial resources.’ The amount of time before him for tackling such questions seemed short too; as he wrote to an official at Simla: ‘I can never get rid of the feeling that in regard to larger matters of administration I can be nothing but a mere swallow.’ Mr. (now Sir) D. T. Chadwick, I.C.S., the Director of Agriculture, exclaimed to me one day: ‘I wish H.E. was going to stay 15 years!’ This was in July 1914, soon after he had written to Mr. Chadwick as follows: ‘I should like to know what you would think

of organizing in Madras a meeting of the principal agriculturists in the Presidency who are interested in the various branches of agricultural improvement . . . they might be invited to meet the officers of the department . . . to read papers and open discussions. These topics would then be discussed in the Press and the work of the department would become better known. Nowadays in the competition of schemes for social reform, with a Press largely occupied by the affairs of towns and cities, rural reform requires constant advertisement. I have some hope that such a conference after being once or twice repeated might lead to the formation of something in a small way upon the model of the Royal Agricultural Society or the Highland Society, or some kind of permanent nucleus of wealthy people interested in agriculture and willing to take a share in that side of public life.'

Accordingly a conference was held in December 1914. Sir David Chadwick, C.S.I., C.I.E., now Secretary to the Imperial Economic Committee, writes: 'The agricultural department of the Government had been distributing better types of seed, especially of cotton and rice, whereby crops of better quality were being grown on a large scale, but there was the usual difficulty in obtaining commercial recognition for these better strains, and the merchant houses gave little more for them than for the ordinary crops. The Agricultural and Trade Conference summoned and opened by Lord Pentland in 1914 was intended to bring the large landowners and business firms more into touch with the work of the department, and did much to give it direct economic objectives, and to secure the help of the business community. From the date of his arrival in Madras Lord Pentland took a very personal interest in all improvements in agricultural practice and economy. The Department of Agriculture had been reorganized in

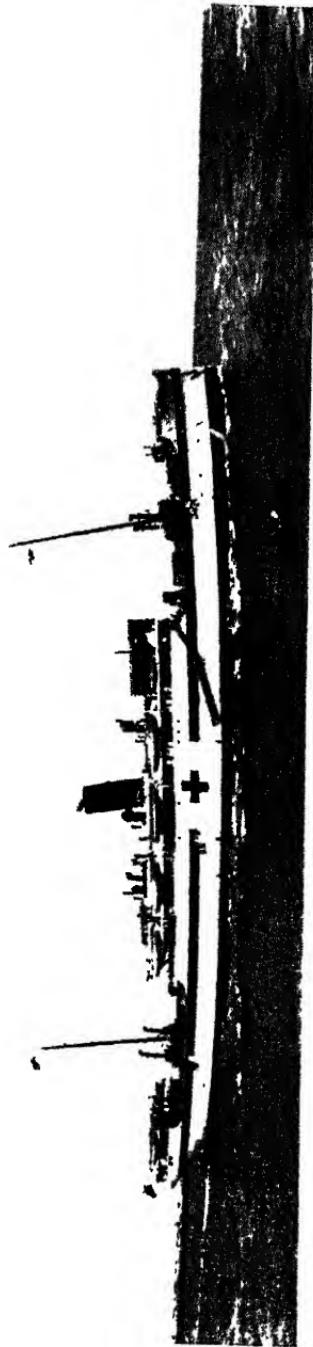
1906, and the Agricultural College and Research Institute at Coimbatore had been finished only a year or two before he became Governor. From the start he was very anxious that this work should be firmly established, and should in the first place gain the confidence of the ryots, and in the second place command the intelligent interest of the general public and above all of the business community. Although I was then very junior in the service I was shortly sent for by him and questioned on the work, organization and objects of the Agricultural Department. As long as I was in Madras he continually sent for me, discussed progress, lent me books, and was always ready with advice and suggestions helping to surmount difficulties or to make schemes more practical and useful. When on tour he invariably visited villages in which the ryots had adopted new processes. The economic aspect of the work especially appealed to him. He was interested in fine crops and fine specimens of stock, but was much more interested in measures aimed at securing to the farmer a fair return for greater effort on his part.

‘Lord Pentland took special interest in the milk supply of the Presidency and in the improvement of cattle. After a preliminary survey of the cattle of the Presidency and of the methods of trade in dairy products had been conducted, he urged the establishment of cattle-breeding stations, chiefly for the purpose of developing better milking strains of cattle. Till then such work had been mostly confined to supplying milk for troops in cantonments. He wished to develop that work for the general good of the civil population, and for this purpose took much personal trouble in trying to secure the assistance of a properly qualified expert. The increasing necessity of concentrating all effort on issues directly connected with the War prevented the scheme from maturing, but after the War, cattle breeding and dairying stations were

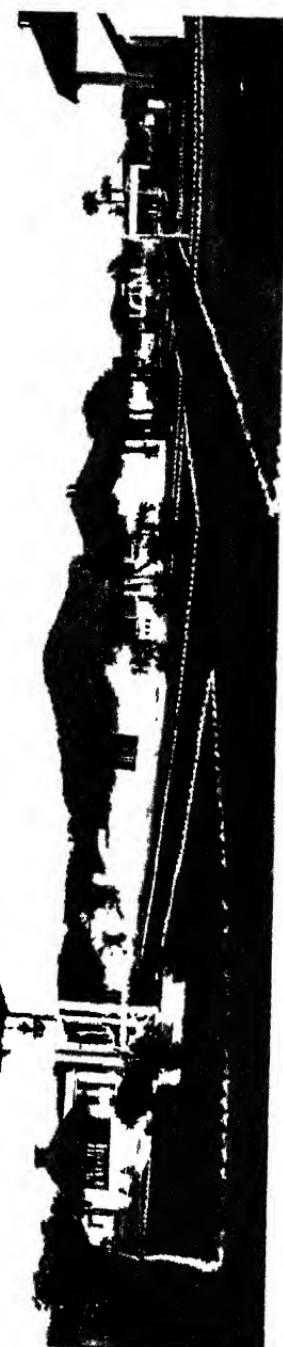
organized throughout India in a scheme containing many of the features and principles which Lord Pentland had advocated. He also interested himself in improving the cultivation of potatoes on the Nilgiri Hills, and in establishing a farm there for providing reliable potato seed at a moderate price to ryots throughout India.

'He believed in widening every one's horizon. It was not sufficient for the farmer, in his view, to grow a crop and sell it to some petty dealer in a local market; it was not sufficient, in his view, for a merchant to ship Indian produce to London or Hamburg for sale and have no more interest. He believed that the more the producer or merchant knew about the ultimate destinations and uses of the goods they produced or handled the greater would be their interest in them, the more continuous and effective would be their efforts to improve the nature of their produce, and to meet the requirements of the ultimate market. From this and through this better returns must be secured for the agriculturist. He was always emphasizing the reaction of such greater interest and better returns on the general level of intelligence, and on the general outlook of the people. It was not only that he wished to see their material condition improved. He wished to open new avenues for stimulating curiosity, interest and knowledge about the things and goods which concerned most closely their daily life, and through that of widening in every way their outlook.'

In May 1914 Pentland had written to a friend at home, well known for his organizing abilities, to ask his help in arranging a sale of Madras industries in London in 1916. At the same time he was planning an exhibition of arts and industries to be held in Madras itself. Then the War broke out and he wrote: 'We must abandon the idea for the present'; but in December 1914 he wrote again to Sir Harold Stuart: 'You will be glad to infer from this letter that Mr. J. O. Robinson (Director



HOSPITAL SHIP MADRAS
LEAVING MADRAS HARBOUR, 17TH NOVEMBER 1914



THE MODEL VILLAGE
AT THE MADRAS EXHIBITION OF DECEMBER 1915

of Spencer & Co.) is ready to give us his cordial assistance with an exhibition; in two years' time it might be practicable and if so it is not too soon to begin making plans.' As the War went on supplies from Europe failed and it became more clearly a public duty to save demands on shipping. These were fresh reasons for an Exhibition which would show people all the products which were in the widest sense *swadeshi*, and spur the producers to further efforts. At this time, too, Pentland was searching for any means of adding to the War Fund. So he wrote to Sir Harold Stuart on 22nd August 1915: 'The S.I. Athletic Association offer us their grounds if we care to run their usual Christmas week for the Madras War Fund. We may improve on the sports by introducing more of the Assault-at-Arms element and more events for students. . . . In addition I suggest we might have exhibits of the products of the Presidency, organized by the Departments, including Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries, Industries, Arts, Village and Mission Hand Industries, and the exhibits of any Madras firms.'

To Mr. J. C. Molony, President of the Madras Corporation, he said: 'Some orderly design of laying out the Exhibition is, I think, necessary . . . the agricultural section will require ground space for exhibits of growing crops. . . . Further I suggest we should place on this plot of ground some model houses for the poorer classes of people: if they were equipped with pots and other household necessaries they would be attractive to women visitors. I should like also to have a model village, well, cowhouse, etc., in fact to arrange the whole of this plot in the form of a residential village. Trees can hardly be planted to grow in the ground but we might have small trees in tubs which would serve the purpose.' These ideas were carried out and developed by an energetic Committee with Mr. S. D. Pears as Chairman and Rao

Bahadur, now Diwan Bahadur Sir T., Vijayaraghavacharya, K.B.E., as Secretary, and with the help of many public-spirited firms and individuals. A quadrangle of white buildings in an Indo-Saracenic style was put up by the Government architect, Mr. Montague Thomas, and with the Model Village and the Travancore and Cochin pavilions the Exhibition covered twenty acres.

Describing the entrance, the *Madras Mail* said: 'A fine avenue of palm trees leads to a bridge constructed over a tank which has to be crossed before the triumphal archway is reached. The idea of introducing this entrance originated with His Excellency, and no doubt it has added not a little to the picturesqueness of the scene.' Various chits from him to the organizers show a vigilant interest: 'A large number of the placards should be in the vernacular, principally in Tamil for Madras itself; and send them out into the mufassal centres.' 'How about arrangements for return railway tickets at reduced fares including admission to the exhibition?' 'Very glad to hear the village exhibits are coming in well; would it be possible to put them into classes and offer prizes or diplomas? This raises the question of a design for the certificate; and it should be awarded before the exhibition closes.' 'In the catalogue of exhibits from industrial schools, the price at which it can be produced for sale should be added in brackets after each article.' 'All advertisements should be at the beginning or end of the catalogue, not interspersed among the pages.' 'One thing I noticed at the Exhibition to-night; if it is to be a popular resort after dark we must improve the lighting.' 'I enclose a note of suggestions to the committee of judges.' On 13th December he wrote to me: 'Much time at Exhibition. I think it is now almost out of danger *bar* accidents. There is to be a *prestidigitateur* —good word for John . . .'

The agricultural section aimed at showing better farming practice, better seed, and better marketing. There were delightful miniature fields of growing crops to show different stages and results, some seedlings sown thickly and broadcast, others thinly and in rows; there were improved ploughs and other implements, an apparatus for boring wells, oil engines at work for pumping water and crushing sugar-cane, and Mr. Chatterton's new sugar furnace. There was a model dairy at work, making and selling butter untouched by hand; incubators in action and poultry in model runs; a living exhibit of silk, from the egg to the cloth, sent from Pusa; various remedies against insect pests; and an exhibit of the planting products, tea, coffee, cinchona, rubber. The Forest Department showed panels made from an astonishing number of trees, with their commercial uses as timber and in other products such as tanning and dyeing materials, medicine, food-stuffs, oil, gum, scent.

Madras fish were famous for being beautiful to watch at the Aquarium and also excellent to eat. But the exhibit of the Fisheries Department was a revelation to most people in showing the extent and the variety of the industry. There were examples of at least thirty-six kinds of food fish, of edible and pearl oysters, of turtles, prawns, sponges, chank-shells and bangles; and other culture carried on by the department at their freshwater and marine fish farms, the first of the kind to be established in India. They showed the old and improved methods of fish-curing, and the processes started by Sir Frederick Nicholson, Honorary Director of Fisheries, for fish-canning and for making fish-oil products, including guano and soap. They distributed samples of a latherly toilet soap made from purely vegetable fats, which had been produced owing to the success of the other experiments. There were models and specimens of various implements of capture: boats, canoes, cata-

marans, nets, lines, baskets; and the bamboos used in some places as savings banks by placing coins in slits made between the nodes. The modern facilities for thrift and cheap credit provided by the department were shown in the rules of the first Co-operative Society among fisher people established at Tanur by Rao Bahadur Mr. V. Govindan, Assistant Director of Fisheries.

The Department of Industries, which had been re-started in 1913, exhibited a motor tractor and other machinery, a model power-house, an electrically lighted village, and electric train. There was a real dining-room with furniture and carpet made by industrial schools, and deaf and dumb, and blind, children were making lace on the spot. The instruction given by the Department in weaving and leather work was shown, and the colours produced from its experiments with indigenous dyes. There were demonstrations of handloom weaving with improved mechanism, of an automatic loom by Messrs. Binny & Co., of pencil, glass, and button making; of oil milling and the manufacture of cheroots by Messrs. Oakes & Co. Other manufactures on view were aluminium and metal work, cement, tiles, bricks, coco-nut products, wood pulp, mica, pottery, condiments, candles, brushes and combs. The School of Arts, the Victoria Technical Institute, all the village and mission industries, and many private firms showed their different productions and also the States of Travancore and Cochin, rich in natural resources and artistic skill. The Health and Hygiene Section aimed at showing the right and wrong way to live, in the model village which had life-size houses designed both for towns and villages, Hindus and Muhammadans, with drainage and water supply; also a model well, cattle shed, police house, tubercular open-air shed, a village hall, and bazaar of shops.

The official guide, which was printed with type, ink and paper made in India, and was described by the

Press as ‘the most interesting record of its kind that we have seen’, expressed the hope that the Exhibition would make money for a patriotic cause, that it would offer an unparalleled *tamasha*, and also serve as a clearing-house of ideas. These purposes were all really fulfilled; after the Exhibition was opened on 27th December such crowds flocked to see it that sometimes it was difficult to move round and the closing date had to be postponed from the 8th till the 16th January. At the end Sir Bernard Hunter, of the Bank of Madras, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Committee of the Exhibition, said: ‘I am sure I am expressing the feelings of all who have visited it when I say it has been one huge success from beginning to end,’ and speaking of His Excellency the Governor: ‘The idea was his alone and it required no small amount of courage and determination to carry it out. From first to last his was the guiding hand and no detail was too small for him to look into and settle. Madras has never seen anything like this Exhibition before and it will not soon be forgotten.’ The Exhibition made a net profit of Rs. 71,763, and after Rs. 2,000 had been given to the South Indian Athletic Association, Rs. 69,763 was handed over to the Madras War Fund. Pentland wrote to Colonel Allanson: ‘I understand that sometime ago another provincial Government dropped two lakhs over a similar exhibition so we may consider ourselves well out of it!’

One of the features of the Exhibition about which Pentland took most trouble was a series of lantern lectures given there by officials and other speakers; several were on health and sanitation, and other titles of papers were: ‘The Freshwater Fisheries’, ‘Weaving’, ‘Tea, from clearing the Jungle to the Cup’; ‘Poultry’, ‘Water Supplies’, ‘Madras Agriculture’, ‘Minor Marine Industries’, ‘The Wealth of the Forest’, ‘The Industrial Possibilities of Travancore’, ‘Soap’, ‘Insects in Agriculture’, ‘The

Dairy', 'Sea Fisheries', 'Plant Diseases', 'Well Boring and Pumping', 'Co-operation in Agriculture', 'Fishery Industries and Economics'. A full collection of facts was also drawn up in each department for the Exhibition and Sir David Chadwick says: 'Lord Pentland insisted on a full record being made and from that information was ultimately issued a Handbook of Commercial Intelligence for the Madras Presidency. About 1920 a Handbook for India on the same lines was published and was found so useful that it soon passed through two editions.'

In May 1915 the Coalition Government was formed and the Marquess of Crewe left the India Office and became Lord President of the Council. He was an old friend and colleague in whom Pentland had felt complete confidence; to work and correspond with him had always been a pleasure. Lord Crewe wrote to me later of Pentland as 'one of the most straight and loyal characters I have ever been privileged to know by close and friendly contact'. The new Secretary of State for India was the Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., who wrote to Pentland: 'When we worked against each other for so many years in the House, we could neither of us have foreseen our relations of to-day, but former differences will not prevent co-operation. I hope you will write to me freely and confidentially. . . .' In thanking him Pentland replied: 'You may be sure that I shall with all pleasure and readiness avail myself of my privileges,' and on 6th July 1916 Pentland wrote again to the Secretary of State: 'The question of trade developments after the war and more especially of substituting direct relations with Allied countries for the mediation of German brokers has attracted the attention of the mercantile community in Madras. Interest was further stimulated by communications from the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris, the Russo-British Chamber of Commerce, Petrograd, and the Russian Reciprocal Society of

Merchants at Moscow. An informal conference of some of the leading merchants and bankers was held at Government House to consider what could be done, and the Madras Government were strongly urged to arrange for the deputation to Russia of a Government official and pressed to permit Mr. Chadwick to undertake the special duty. The Madras Chamber of Commerce also showed their practical interest by offering a substantial sum towards the cost of the deputation.’ He explained further that it was thought desirable to associate with Mr. Chadwick a colleague with banking and mercantile experience and to extend the inquiry to other countries such as France and Sweden, but that the Government of India refused to sanction any public expenditure for either of these purposes; and continued: ‘There is a widespread feeling of disappointment that India has not been in a position to take advantage of those opportunities of finding fresh markets and extending her industries which other nations such as the United States and Japan have so freely utilized. . . . It is the more essential therefore that the deputation should have every opportunity to fulfil the expectations placed upon it and I would sincerely ask for it at the hands of the India Office a full measure of support and encouragement. The expenditure involved is in any case insignificant. I feel convinced that by a sympathetic and vigorous treatment of this question of the development of the resources, industries and markets of the country, which many thoughtful Indians are beginning to realize is of more vital importance than barren constitution-mongering, the course of events in this country in the near future may be profoundly modified.’

Accordingly in this month Mr. D. T. Chadwick, I.C.S., and Mr. G. W. Black, of the Bank of Madras, were despatched to Russia. After a tour throughout the country they returned to London in December and

presented a report which widened its scope to include the trade between Russia with the whole of India, not merely with Madras, so the question became an All-India one. Mr. Austen Chamberlain wrote to Pentland 2nd February 1917: 'Your Commissioners to Russia have produced a most interesting Report and have made some very valuable recommendations. . . . I feel sure that you will raise no difficulty if the Government of India desire to take up these proposals on behalf of the whole of India and so infringe your original patent rights. You will have the satisfaction of knowing that your Government started a most useful movement.' Mr. Chamberlain then directed the commissioners to undertake similar work for India as a whole in France and Italy. These missions led to the appointment in 1917 of an Indian Trade Commissioner with an office in London. Sir David Chadwick was the first Commissioner, and he says: 'British and Indian business men have frequently borne testimony to the utility of a Trade Commissioner's office in London. In my opinion, the fact that such an office was open and at work by the time of the Armistice was a direct result of the encouragement given by Lord Pentland to the Trade Mission to Russia in 1916. He gave that encouragement as a natural result of his interest in and eagerness to promote the general commercial and economic advancement of the Presidency.'

Pentland's faith in the Co-operative movement had begun in 1888, when he got up the Exhibition for Co-operative Societies in London, and it had grown as he studied the developments in Ireland and Denmark. When he arrived in Madras he found the movement firmly established on a small scale owing to the efforts of Sir Frederick Nicholson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., who after a distinguished career settled in India and devoted himself to work for this object as well as for Fisheries and

other movements for the economic improvement of the people. The Registrar of Co-operative Societies, the late Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, I.S.O., C.I.E., afterwards President of the Legislative Council, was distinguished for his scholarly gifts, and Pentland invited him to deliver the University Convocation address in 1913. Among other advice to the 1,100 young graduates he begged them all to join the nearest Co-operative Society so that they might ‘see what a potent instrument it is for mutual trust, responsibility and labour; and thus help to forge a living chain far more useful than the chain of gold fabled by poets for holding together and animating every agricultural, industrial and economic force in the Presidency’. Pentland was anxious that the fullest efficiency and force should be applied to the direction of the movement, and in 1916 he arranged for the late Mr. F. R. Hemingway, I.C.S., one of the rising officers of the service, to go home for six months and study the different forms of co-operation in Ireland and elsewhere, before becoming Registrar of Co-operative Societies. Mr. Hemingway was the first European I.C.S. officer to hold the position and wrote the Madras Co-operative Manual, 1921, which describes the position in Madras and gives instructions for work there. Between the years 1913 and 1919, the number of societies increased from 1,078 to 3,573, the number of members from 82,713 to 244,297, the number of Central Banks from 6 to 26, the working capital from 95 lakhs of rupees to 305 lakhs, the Government expenditure from Rs. 93,000 to 2.26 lakhs. But, as Mr. Hemingway says in his Manual, ‘no account, however brief, of the co-operative movement in Madras would be complete which did not pay a tribute to the moral benefits conferred by it on co-operators. It is the general experience in this Presidency that the association of the people, and more especially of the villagers, in co-operative societies

teaches them valuable lessons of self-reliance and self-respect, mutual trust and mutual helpfulness, not to mention punctuality and businesslike habits. Co-operation also provides a field for social service in which the highest and the lowest can combine for the moral and material improvement of the masses of the people.'

In the pursuit of economic progress Pentland made another departure by himself exploring a number of districts, most of them not before visited by Governors, to see planting colonies or stations where special work was being carried on in agriculture, fisheries, forests, and other industries. By the end of 1915 he had been round all the districts in the ceremonial way, and in 1916 he made nine of these less formal expeditions. For instance in March 1916, writing to his daughter Peggy (aged 10), he described his opening of the new Guntur-Tenali-Rapalle Railway and the Ongole Cattle Show: 'Most of the cattle are those large white patient-looking beasts with a hump which you see in Madras. Some of them are reddish and brown or have patches of those colours. They are not called one year, two years or three years old as at home, but milk teeth cows, four teeth, six teeth, eight teeth, according to their ages. I think I was told that there were something like 650 animals in the Show. About Rs. 150 seemed to be a good price for a cow; people come from a great distance to buy them, even as far as from Java. I intended to take some photographs for mother of these cattle but wherever we went so many people collected that it was impossible: I was very much disappointed . . . A lady told me that she has a beautiful Persian cat, not grey but white, and that he kills quails nearly every day!'

In 1915 he had visited some of the tea and coffee estates, forest camps and plantations, and cinchona factories, of the Wynnaad and the Nilgiris, and in April 1916 he went up to the High Range of Travancore

accompanied by Mr., now Sir Fairless Barber, who represented the planting community on the Legislative Council. Writing from Mr. Pinches' bungalow at Mattupatti, he describes the method of getting there: ‘At the bottom station we saw the “hinner” end of the rope railway; then got on to hacks and rode single file up the ghat path, our luggage passing us in mid-air from time to time. Shortly after middle station a drop of rain, two drops, then a sousing! . . . To a tea factory, of which there are 18 on this Company’s “concession” from the Travancore State: a large affair, some 25 estates, each with a European manager in normal times (European = Scotch, for it is a Scotch company), and they employ nearly 20,000 coolies. . . . It is 5,000 feet above the sea, steeper hills than the Kundahs, and miles and miles of tea; this factory produces 700,000 lb. a year, just about the consumption of Aberdeen, at 5 lb. a head! The Doric in all accents, Inverness-shire, Glesca’, and so on.’ On the Periyar Lake he had ‘a voyage in a launch which reminded me of a municipal jaunt to see water-works, say on Loch Katrine. Except in times of flood the Periyar River, which flows to the *west*, is no longer fed by the lake. The dam, and this is the great achievement, intervenes. All the water of the lake finds its way through a tunnel cut through the solid rock, to tumble down the Kumili ghat and along the channels of the fertile Kambam valley down to the *eastern* plains.’ At Mundakayam he saw a rubber factory for the first time, and at Peermade, another planting centre, on the Cardamom Hills of Travancore, one of the leading planters, Mr. J. A. Richardson, was his host, and in his welcome said they took the first visit of a Governor as a sign that the Government was beginning to realize the immense amount of capital vested in the planting industry of South India. In July he went to the Kolar Gold Fields in Mysore and wrote from

Marikuppam: 'Down Mysore mine—3,000 feet—at Champion Reef saw crushing, washing and finally the brick of gold which goes off to the Mint, value about £4,000.'

He was the first Governor to visit the community of the Nattukottai Chettiyars, in the Ramnad district, a trading and banking caste of great wealth and piety, who restore the great temples of the Presidency, such as Chidambaram, and Tiruvannamalai, where Siva is shown to the pilgrims as fire. They also give largely to other charitable works. Mr. Tyagaraja Chettiyar said in his address: 'Spending much after earning much as we do, we are yet called Chetti (from chettu which means economic) because we are thrifty as regards our own household. Some of the buildings in our country cost several lakhs each. . . . We find the British Government light and sweet, enjoying as we do perfect peace and contentment,' and they gave a hearty welcome to the Governor, who stayed with the Zamindar of Devakottai and then with Rao Sahib Sir S. R. Annamalai Chettiyar at Kanadukattan.

He wrote from Devakottai, 19th September 1916: 'From early morn till dewy eve, i.e. fireworks and brass band up till 11 p.m., we have been rollicking round Devakottai. . . . I am strongly reminded of Lenzie [near Glasgow]. Subscriptions to Madras War Fund to-day Rs. 46,000!—really very liberal. All going well, including big drum outside my window. Rather a good Madura police band which has been working very hard. New idea for the Park Fair: a band-playing competition?' No sooner thought than done; he arranged a tournament and in the following December eight bands came up from the mufassal to take part in it at the Christmas Fair, which was again run for the benefit of the War Fund. The special attractions were the bands' tournament and a torchlight tattoo by men of the 88th Carnatic Infantry, the 1/4 Devons, the M. & S.M. Ry.

Rifles and the M.V.G., which on the last night was watched by a record crowd of thirty thousand people. Several prizes were given for the band-playing, H.E.’s. Cup being won by the M. & S.M. Railway Volunteers’ band; and the massed bands performed at the New Year garden party at Government House.

In the company of Sir Frederick Nicholson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Honorary Director of Fisheries, Pentland visited the experimental fishery stations of the West Coast, such as the Government Soap Factory at Calicut, under the oil chemist Mr. A. K. Menon; the Fish Cannery at Beypore; the curing yard and oil and guano factory at Tanur: and in a speech he expressed the Government’s appreciation of the self-sacrificing spirit with which Sir Frederick Nicholson had for so many years devoted himself to the work of the department, and placed his knowledge, experience and enthusiasm at the service of the State. The year before Pentland had been writing home to Sir William Lever (afterwards Lord Leverhulme) and Mr., afterwards Sir John H. Irvin, K.B.E., for advice on methods for the development of the soap trade and fisheries.

In the Walayar jungles he saw the annual auction sale of Government elephants by the Forest Department; and from Coimbatore he visited the Pattagar of Palaykottai, who displayed 1,250 Kangayam cattle from his famous herds in an enclosure adjoining his house, and explained his systems of breeding and grazing. Some more of the local cattle had been collected in order that the Governor should see them as he passed through Kangayam, so he gave prizes for the best ones.

From a new planting colony on the British Anamalais, where he stayed with Mr. Hatton Robinson, he wrote: 19th October: ‘Valparai (= tail of the rock). This is a newly opened or opening planting district, no telegraph, 4,000 feet up, the only access a steep zig-zag

road we came up to-day; 34 hairpin turns. A boulder came dancing down on several of the turns, one after another, finally going through two small bridges; so one of our cars was delayed while the bridges were hastily mended to let it over. Fifteen at dinner and Dhan Singh [his invaluable bearer] that Conservative—Tory of Tories—somewhat surprised and resentful because I declined “ribbon and star”. A couple of years later, at the 25th anniversary of the United Planters’ Association of South India, the Chairman, Mr. J. S. Nicolls, said in welcoming H.E. the Governor to their meeting in Madras: ‘We shall always remember the interest you have taken in all matters concerning us. By your many tours in the planting districts you have gained a knowledge of what the planters have done for the good of the Empire.’

In November 1916, writing to his son John (aged 9) about a visit to Mr. Chambers’ tannery at Pallavaram, Pentland describes how a water diviner was employed: ‘standing on the verandah he pointed with his hand and said “There is water in that direction,” walked there about 30 or 40 yards, and tested the ground with his hazel merrythought which acted at once; (the tied points insist on swinging round and pointing to the ground). A well was sunk and water found at 20 feet below the surface. . . . Skins of buffaloes and cattle are called hides and skins of goats and sheep are called skins. They are first washed, then soaked in the tannin in great vats and tubs and drums which roll round; then oil is driven in to the leather to make it soft, then it is trimmed and polished and is ready to be made into harness, saddles, belts for engines, shoes and gloves; at present a great many boots are being made for the army called ammunition boots. There are two kinds of tanning; first the ordinary old-fashioned tanning with the juice or solution from the bark of trees. The bark we saw

used this morning came from three trees: (1) cassia auriculata, (2) divi-divi, (3) wattle, which you see growing at Ooty; I dare say you also know the other trees. The other kind of tanning is with a mineral solution, namely chrome; we saw both kinds going on. . . .’ Not long after this, in February 1917, he wrote from Waltair to the Director of Industries, Mr., now H.E. Sir Charles Innes, K.C.S.I., Governor of Burma, that he had been told of ‘an abundance of myrobalams [a fruit used in tanning] in this district and no demand for them: I wonder if Chambers at Pallavaram knows this. He complained the other day that he could not get them.’ On the same tour he wrote from the Guest House, Bobbili, on 19th February: ‘This house and the palace are surrounded by mango groves; the trees are all in blossom which is said to betoken a bumper crop. My thoughts turned at once to jam . . .’ and he wrote forthwith to Mr. Innes to suggest that the mangoes might be canned or made into jam for the troops, and that the prospect of a large crop might be reported to Simla.

No visit of any kind appeared to him as an end in itself, a perfunctory inspection to polish off; it was always a step towards further consideration and action. In the same way, after visiting the Government Pencil Factory on one occasion, he wrote to Mr. Gillman, in charge of the Forest Department: ‘It seems pretty clear that the first essential is to grow the right wood. Some suitable woods grow in Canada and the U.S.A., and I understand Cox [Mr. Stephen Cox, Conservator of Forests] is going there shortly from England. It would, I think, be worth your while to write and ask him to inform himself fully as to the best kinds of wood for this purpose before leaving England and to study the subject when he is in Canada and the U.S.A., if necessary making provisional arrangements to obtain samples to grow here experimentally.’ He hated to see the smallest waste,

and wrote to me at the same time: 'Could you not make sachets stuffed with fine cedar wood shavings for the Ladies' Depôt Fête? I have asked Innes to send you a sample sack.'

On the visit to Bobbili he took the opportunity of acknowledging the public services of his host the Maharaja of Bobbili, G.C.I.E., C.B.E., the first Indian member of the Madras Executive Council, 'who may well be termed the Nestor of the Presidency; his loyalty, desire to help, and high sense of honour have been as unfailing as the courtesy and urbanity of his personal friendship, which I value highly and hope long to retain.' In the same month, February 1917, Pentland paid a visit to the Maharaja of Jeypore, K.C.I.E. Jeypore is a Samasthanam of about 12,000 square miles in the remote Agency Tracts of the Vizagapatam District, with mountains rising to about 5,000 feet; a country which had suffered from the prevalence of malaria and the want of roads. An account of the visit sent afterwards by the Maharaja says: 'After a journey of 70 miles from Salur by motor the Governor of Madras for the first time in the history of Jeypore, placed his foot upon the soil of Jeypore. A row of 20 elephants richly jewelled and beautifully caparisoned was drawn up in front of the pandal, the Jeypore Lancers were stationed to the right and the Samasthanam Chopdars and Ballemdars in their beautiful uniforms on either side. With the tank in front and the reserve forest close by, the thick mango grove presented a very picturesque appearance. . . . The procession which was about half a mile marched slowly and a salute of 19 guns was fired while H.E. was driving into the town.' Next day 'the leading gentry assembled under a shamiana in the choultry compound to witness the opening of a building which should prove a boon to weary travellers in these parts where the conditions of the country and the want of facilities make



ON THE ROAD TO GUINDY, DURING THE PONGAL HOLIDAYS



ELEPHANTS AT KARGUDI FOREST CAMP, IN THE WYNAAD

travelling extremely difficult and trying. His Excellency was conducted by the Maharaja to the silver state chair placed in a separate decent shāmiana, provided with silver chairs for the rest of the guests.’ The Maharaja explained how he had built this choultry or rest-house in memory of his beloved teacher and guide, the late Dr. Marsh, LL.D., and after it had been opened by His Excellency, the guests found that inside the Maharaja had arranged a surprise exhibition for the visitors of products from the Jeypore Samasthanam. There were over 90 different varieties of grain, 49 varieties of pulses, over 30 kinds of forest products, besides lacquer ware, old arms, metals, agricultural implements, and numerous local wild animals and birds. At a garden party next day some of the aboriginal hill tribes performed their different dances. The Koya dancers, for instance, were men with bison horns and a tuft of peacock feathers on their heads, ‘who carried massive drums made of hollowed trunks of trees, and as they trotted round in the growing dusk the massed band of bass and treble drums made an inspiring uproar. From time to time the men would dash their heads together in imitation of bulls fighting, and though the performance was comparatively calm, it was easy to imagine how excited it would be when the dancers were filled with the necessary quantum of arrack. The performance most enjoyed was the dance of the Gadaba and Poroja women, who stepped well, went through graceful figures and sang melodiously.’ On the Sunday there Pentland wrote to me: ‘Grant Duff got as far as Pottinghi, and in those days that was a much more laborious business than going to Jeypore now, 50 miles farther on. Much the worst road we have yet attempted on these tours. Plenty of music here—of a kind—but not exactly hymns! and no “fellowship of silence”.’

In November he wrote to me from Madras: ‘Just

back from Lace Exhibition; have arranged an opportunity for gosha ladies to go and see it from 2 to 5 on Wednesday.' This was a display of all kinds of lace made by hand in South India, collected at the Victoria Technical Institute. To quote from the *Madras Mail*: 'The idea of holding the exhibition originated, we believe, with H.E. Lord Pentland, who during his tours had seen specimens of lace and embroidery manufactured in remote villages whose existence was unknown to people in the Presidency town; and he foresaw possibilities of developing the industry.' To bring this exhibition into notice he gave a tea-party there and wrote to Dr. J. R. Henderson, C.I.E., Superintendent of the Madras Museum: 'if possible this exhibition should be made definitely helpful to the future of lace-making in the Presidency: I suggest an informal conference with those in charge of the various industries and I will ask the Director of Industries to come to it with me.'

Pentland often went to the Madras Museum to consult the late Dr. Henderson, who was as helpful as he was learned. Besides having other special subjects, such as snakes and crustacea, he was an authority on numismatics. So Pentland commissioned him to make a small collection of 96 South Indian gold, silver and copper coins, and presented them to the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh. Dr. Henderson was also Honorary Secretary of the Victoria Technical Institute, which had been started in commemoration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee to foster the art industries of South India; the memorial hall was built as a place for showing and selling these handicrafts, such as palampores (block-printed and hand-painted cloths) and other cotton and silk cloths, lace, carved and inlaid wood and ivory, cane work, pottery, lacquer, carpets, metal work and jewellery. Pentland took a keen interest in the Institute and at the annual meeting in 1917 spoke of the importance of

maintaining an up-to-date catalogue, and active local correspondents or Committees. In speaking of the new furniture workshop started at the School of Arts in co-operation with the Department of Industries, he said: ‘Now in Madras you are aware that some recent steps have been taken and are in progress for reorganizing and I hope developing the work of the Department of Industries, and when the War is over it will certainly be the duty of the Department to do its utmost for the village industries of the Presidency and thus for the large rural population which takes part in them.’

It was just the right moment for a Department of Industries. A Royal proclamation had forbidden the export of many commodities from the United Kingdom, and in other ways the War had restricted supplies and created demands. The object was to improve, extend and advertise indigenous industries, and the Exhibition of 1915 had shown a successful way of doing this, especially suitable in a country where most of the people cannot read. So Pentland was heartily supported when in July 1917 he proposed to a meeting of leading business men in Madras that another Exhibition of Arts and Industries should be held at the Christmas Fair of 1917, to show home substitutes for imported articles; and methods whereby raw products might be turned into manufactures in India itself instead of abroad; and examples of industries fitted for workers of different capacities. The Exhibition was run by the Department of Industries and a Committee of which the Director of Industries Mr., now Sir Charles Innes, K.C.S.I., was Chairman. Rao Bahadur, now Diwan Bahadur Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, K.B.E., Member of the Public Service Commission, India, was again Secretary, and as ‘H.E.’ said afterwards ‘his cheerful energy and abounding optimism triumphed over all difficulties’. So Madras may claim that Sir Vijayara-

ghavacharya's experience in connection with these two exhibitions led to the attractiveness and success of the India Building at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1924. It was he who acted there for the Government of India as the Commissioner for India, not only during most of an arduous year at the Exhibition, but during the two preceding years of travelling and organization.

The buildings were again white, designed by the Government architect, Mr. W. H. Nicholls, with a front like a Pathan fort; they were put up by the P.W.D. under Mr. J. M. Lacey; and as far as possible everything was of local origin. Exhibits were allowed this time from the whole of India and came from the Government of the French Possessions, from the Durbars of Pudukota, Patiala, Travancore, Cochin, Banganapalle, and from every Province, in such numbers that applicants had to be refused, although there were two quadrangles and the floor-space was double that of 1915. The rents paid by the stall-holders more than covered the cost of the buildings.

The Viceroy, Viscount Chelmsford, in the presence of the Secretary of State and the French Governor, opened the Exhibition on 21st December 1917; it was his only public appearance during that visit to Madras, and in the course of an important speech on industrial policy, he stated that the entire demand of the armies in India and Mesopotamia had been met by khaki drill from Messrs. Binny's Buckingham and Carnatic mills. There was a great display of cottons at the Exhibition, including those from Pondicherry with indigo-dyed yarn. Madras had also supplied a large proportion of the boots for our own and our Allies' armies, in the shape of East India kips (light skins); and the Department of Industries showed products from its new Leather Trade School. There was a wealth of chemicals, and sugar and sweets from

Messrs. Parry's Nellikuppan factory. The Indian Munitions Board, which had been started as a result of the Industrial Commission, for the purpose of organizing Indian resources, sent a large collection of manufactures and machinery made in India. All the village industries of the Madras Presidency were represented, and the articles made in the jails. For the first time at any exhibition, the Salt and Abkari Department appeared as an exhibitor with table salt, Epsom salts, vinegar and marking ink. The Agricultural Department showed improved methods of irrigation and of handling ground-nuts, cotton, silk, indigo; and a number of tempting breakfast foods and other substitutes for imports, prepared from local products by the Government agricultural chemist at Coimbatore. The Fisheries and Forests improved on their former displays, and the use and manufacture of quinine was shown by the cinchona department. There were models of sanitary villages, houses, huts, markets, wells, pumps, and Mr. J. W. Madeley's model of the drainage and water-supply of Madras. The S.I. Railway sent a model of the Pamban viaduct, and the Electric Tramway Co. a full-size tram with 1st and 2nd class seats, as a possible innovation. Very many private exhibitors had stalls with new and improved work of all kinds and the verdict of the *Madras Mail* was this: 'It is a gigantic enterprise and we have no hesitation in saying that as an exhibition of industries it surpasses any venture of the kind ever initiated in this country.' Over 134,000 visitors came to the Exhibition, paying 4 annas for entrance, and a profit of Rs. 65,000 was handed over to the Madras War Fund. At the closing ceremony H.E. the Governor said in distributing the medals and diplomas that they had been awarded by a distinguished and discriminating committee of judges, and that they certified a high standard of proficiency. He also said that by common consent the-

exhibition had shown 'that the resources of South India are more varied than is commonly supposed, that its people are endowed with capacity and adaptability, and that its industrial leaders both European and Indian have the enterprise required for the development of those resources. There has been a marked advance even in the last two years and in respect of its industrial equipment the Madras Presidency has been rapidly qualifying itself to pull its weight in the great contest in which we are engaged.'

In January 1917 the Royal Commission on Indian Industries, under the presidency of Sir T. H. Holland, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., F.R.S., visited Madras in the course of their enquiry. The following year Pentland invited Sir Thomas Holland, then President of the Indian Munitions Board, to come and give the University Convocation address in Madras, and arranged a conference with him on industrial subjects to take place during his stay. Pentland wrote to his Private Secretary, Mr. T. E. Moir, I.C.S., 'So far the subjects stand as follows: (1) Development of power production and hydro-electric scheme, (2) Charcoal production, (3) Coal production; we shall require individuals to open these subjects. . . . Here is my list of those to be invited; I propose to ask some of them to stay at G.H., as we shall require at least two or three sittings.'

In his address to the University graduates at the Convocation Sir Thomas Holland emphasized the importance of better education as a necessity in bringing about industrial reform, and pointed out that millions of money are lost through lack of workers in scientific research applied to the raw products of India. For instance, a relatively small improvement in agricultural methods would produce an enormous total in a country like India, where agriculture is the chief industry. He said: 'The new political privileges will necessarily remain barren

and ineffective unless supplemented by equally important industrial reforms; and it is for you therefore, whose security has been purchased by the lives of others, to show that you can undertake a share in that industrial regeneration of India which is necessary to make its political advancement effective, permanent and secure.’

X

THE REFORMS

THE new political privileges for India were among the most quickly developed products of the year 1917. In 1915, the Viceroy, H.E. Lord Hardinge, had asked provincial governments for their views on questions likely to arise after the War, including the constitution of legislative councils. The next Viceroy, H.E. Viscount Chelmsford, wrote in 1916 to tell local governments that his Council had been considering the progress of India towards self-government, and three main roads of advance to that goal. On these three points Pentland wrote in reply:

‘1. *Local authorities* . . . an important experiment in the development of panchayats has been begun [in Madras]. All our existing local government legislation has been closely examined with a view to its complete revision. The Bill containing our complete proposals for Madras City is now with the Government of India.

‘2. With the policy of more responsible *employment of Indians* under the Government I am in full sympathy. . . .

‘3. It seems to me unnecessary and impolitic to reopen now the question of the *constitution of Provincial Legislative Councils*; and replying to your two specific questions, I would not now give an elected majority, or alter the present constitution or franchise. . . .

‘I would urge as a definite policy to meet present needs and demands, the development of self-government

by giving larger resources and larger powers, financial and administrative, to Provincial Governments and Legislative Councils, and consequently through their agency to the local authorities of towns and rural areas. In advocating this alternative, or substitute, as it may be regarded, I am not unmindful that many other important Indian questions press for consideration. There are the isolated subjects mentioned in your letter; [the Arms Act, India's position in the Empire, indentured labour, encouragement of Indian industries] there are questions of external defence and military policy, of internal fiscal and railway policy, and questions concerning Native States; and overshadowing all others, the care and development of India's natural resources and of her immense and growing population. In the consideration of many of these problems the Provincial Legislative Council will be called upon to share; all the more important does it seem to fit them gradually, as I have ventured to urge, for greater responsibilities. And if signal recognition be required of India's present services to the Empire, a fitting opportunity might be sought by His Majesty's advisers of according to India the more liberal financial treatment regarded by Indian opinion as unjustly withheld, and long ago recommended as equitable by high parliamentary and financial authority.'

In December 1916 the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League agreed on a reform scheme, and Mr. Lionel Curtis visited India to continue his studies in government. He stayed at Government House, Guindy, and Pentland wrote to the Secretary of State: 'I hope that his visit here may help some of his critics to understand him better, even if they must differ from him.'

Pentland's five years' term of office was due to end in October 1917, and before the move to Ooty in April 1917, lists were made and boxes packed of 'things for

England'. In the previous November Pentland had written: 'this time next year we shall be on the way home.' But submarines multiplied, P. & O. ships were sunk, letters arrived 'Damaged by sea water'. Sometimes, instead of the peon's pleased tones announcing 'Excellency's English mail done come', a Post Office slip came to notify that 'the English mails have been lost through enemy action'; often for five or six weeks there was not a letter. Because of the difficulties of travelling, Mr. Austen Chamberlain wrote in May 1917 to ask if Pentland would be willing to serve on. Pentland cabled 'I agree', and on 2nd July Reuter announced that the term of Lord Pentland, and also that of Lord Willingdon, Governor of Bombay, was extended owing to the restrictions on travel. Pentland wrote to Lord Aberdeen on 4th July: 'We were due to leave in October and have been shaping everything to that end, desirable in itself for many reasons. But of course to refuse to serve on was unthinkable. So here we are indefinitely. . . . You may see that, to my infinite regret, we are having some political commotion in this hitherto peaceful province.'

This referred to the action taken against Mrs. Besant by the Madras Government on account of her writings in her newspaper *New India*. At the beginning of the War, in October 1914, when a proposal was received from the Government of India for the control of the Press, Pentland expressed his views in a letter to Sir Harold Stuart: 'What is now proposed is a purely negative policy of repression. There are first the newspapers which are held to be inspired permanently by hostility: these are extremely few and can be controlled within our present powers: with due cause I would deal rigorously with such offenders. The transgressions of the remainder proceed from first, crude understanding of the English language; secondly, poverty of knowledge

and information. Neither the brains nor the bookshelves of those who have to write for their daily bread on such subjects as European foreign policy, military and naval history, strategy and tactics, are in any degree adequately equipped. To ascribe to purposes of sedition what is in fact due to ignorance seems to me a first-class political blunder. The true remedy is to devise some means of enlightenment . . . in short, what I should like to see tried is the appointment of a Press adviser with any necessary assistance, as superintendent of a bureau of information, so initiating a constructive policy of guidance. This might be accepted as a compliment by the Press, and would give us an intimate knowledge of the working of the Press, the best guide for any future action.'

A year later Mrs. Besant started in Madras a paper called *New India*, which certainly seemed to be 'inspired permanently by hostility'; during two years it defamed British Government, and inflamed Indian opinion, till the elements of unrest which before were insignificant and scattered, were united in a general agitation for self-government at the end of the War. A lady was advising her ayah to have her grandsons trained as chauffeurs: 'But what after English go? every one saying English going after war.' In June 1917, as entreaties and warnings had proved useless, the Madras Government were obliged to prohibit Mrs. Besant's political activities.

On 27th June 1917 Mr. Austen Chamberlain wrote to tell Pentland that he had supported the Madras Government's action in the House of Commons. But before his letter reached Madras, he was no longer Secretary of State; for on 12th July he resigned on account of the Mesopotamia Report. Pentland wrote from Madras: 'I cannot allow the mail which leaves to-day to go without endeavouring to express to you my sincere and unqualified regret at the severance of our

official relations and my hearty gratitude for the consideration, sympathy and support which you have so invariably and generously afforded to the Madras Government and to myself personally in our work here.'

The name of Mr. Chamberlain's successor was unexpected; in a letter to me on 19th July Pentland added a hasty P.S.: '*S. of S. for I.!! Edwin Montagu!!*' He wrote to congratulate Mr. Montagu on his 'new office with its splendid opportunities', and Mr. Montagu wrote to him on 21st July: 'It seems years and years since you were Secretary for Scotland and I was Asquith's Private Secretary . . . not only for old association, but because we have similar objects and responsibilities, do I assure you of my co-operation and support.' In regard to the case of Mrs. Besant, Pentland wrote to Mr. Montagu on 9th August 1917 that he was 'most grateful for your support and sympathy. In all that we have done we are on firm ground. . . . I deplore the necessity of all such proceedings, but it seems to me that the political agitation will continue and that if it is allowed to go on we may be forced into one repressive measure after another. Leading newspapers in India—under what inspiration, if any, I know not—are now engaged in discussing various methods for the consideration now of political reforms after the war. . . . If I may say so, this is not the time for political discussion, when the whole strength of India should be directed on the war and upon helping the Empire, and I would not have anything said or done just now, especially by those in authority, which might tend to promote political controversy. . . . Some even of the more extreme leaders know well and admit in private that active political agitation is most undesirable at the present time and so far at least as South India is concerned, I firmly believe that if through the Secretary of State or the Viceroy, His Majesty's Government would now pronounce clearly

against all active political controversy during the war and would at the same time declare that in regard to the political future of India within the Empire, no decision whatever will be made until after the war, and without full consideration then of all opinions entitled to be heard, there would be a fair chance for moderate opinion to operate more fully than it now can, and a prospect of the disappearance or mitigation of most of our present difficulties. Some such measure of reasonable and authoritative reassurance is urgently wanted at the present time.'

Ten days after this letter was posted, the Government of Madras were startled by a telegram from Simla saying that in two days, on 20th August, the Secretary of State would announce in the House of Commons that H.M.'s Government had decided to take steps in the direction of responsible government for India as soon as possible, and that Mr. Montagu was about to proceed to India to receive suggestions. A second telegram proposed that an amnesty should be granted to all those offenders who had been dealt with on political grounds. The Madras Government unanimously agreed that both announcement and amnesty were inopportune and unwise; and Pentland telegraphed on his own behalf to the Secretary of State and to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, urging postponement and further consideration of steps so momentous and irrevocable. But to no avail. The announcement was made, full liberty was restored to Mrs. Besant, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy made a tour of India in the cold weather of 1917-18. In 1918 their Joint Report was published, and in 1919 the scheme passed into law as the Government of India Act. In writing to Lady Aberdeen on 23rd September 1917, Pentland's comment was: 'This reversal of our action here seems most unwise. But you remember that:

So I said it, and think not I said it in jest
For you'll find it is true to the letter
That the only thing old people ought to know best
Is that young people ought to know better!

To Lord Willingdon he wrote in October: 'The results of the removal of the restrictions are a more energetic Home Rule propaganda, strong racial feeling between Indians and Europeans, which Mrs. Besant has never failed to excite, growing antagonism between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, including Muhammadans. If Montagu can satisfy everybody then well and good. If not then after his return to England difficulties seem inevitable. Even now officials and non-officials alike are very generally working double time. His visit will weaken administrative authority and by stimulating constitutional reform discussion will, I fear, tend to divert attention from recruiting and the provision of munitions and money. . . .' In December 1917 Pentland wrote to a former A.D.C., Captain J. E. Monins, 1/4 The Buffs: 'The visit of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy passed off very successfully so far as arrangements and functions were concerned: the party was considerable in number, I believe about 140. We had a camp of tents behind the house. . . . The Exhibition is happily pronounced a great success; I shall send you a catalogue but the first issue has been sold out.' Except for the opening of the Exhibition by H.E. the Viceroy, the whole of the delegation's ten days' visit was taken up by interviews and deputations on the reforms, which disclosed the divisions of opinion that existed between various communities and sections. Pentland wrote to Mr. Montagu after this visit: '28 Dec. 1917. I rejoice to know that you are none the worse for your busy time in Madras, in which all of us were delighted to be of any service . . . it seems to me undeniable that the announcement of August 20th and what has followed

has made a difference in the political situation here. But in regard to the business which you have in hand you may safely believe that such as it is our judgment is not consciously affected in any degree by pique or feeling, in regard either to the release of Mrs. Besant or to the accidental omission to keep us fully informed.'

Sir Alexander Cardew, K.C.S.I., Member of the Madras Executive Council 1914-19, writes of these events thus: 'When Lord Pentland landed at Madras in 1912, he found the Presidency in a state of profound peace. A few years earlier—in 1906 to 1908—an epidemic of lawless agitation had resulted in the murder of a District Magistrate and in serious rioting. This movement had died out. Unrest undoubtedly existed in other parts of India. Within three months of Lord Pentland's landing there occurred, on the 23rd December 1912, the odious attempt to assassinate the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, on the occasion of his state entry into Delhi. But the calm of Madras was unruffled, and all the portents seemed to indicate that Lord Pentland would enjoy a period of peace full of possibilities of progress. Far different was the future actually in store for him. The outbreak of the World War on the 4th of August 1914 not only involved Madras in the great struggle which for over four years convulsed the British Empire; it also encouraged the malcontents to make trouble in the Presidency. For this period of intense strain and anxiety was not followed as in England by a political truce. Whether it was that the great upheaval excited men's minds and stirred them up to unrest, or that the agitator saw in the Empire's difficulties a good opportunity, it is certain that a furious political campaign was early inaugurated and remorselessly carried on. Mrs. Besant, who had hitherto been content to direct the placid activities of the Theosophical Society, plunged into politics. She purchased the control of a newspaper

which she re-christened *New India*, and opened an active campaign for extensive political changes which she described as "Home Rule for India", a name obviously reminiscent of Irish precedent. A little later she also founded a "Home Rule League" to carry on the propaganda by other methods than mere journalism. The first step was to attack and abuse the existing Government. If you are to justify proposals for catastrophic change, you must begin by demonstrating the iniquity of the present system. The campaign thus started was kept up throughout the first two years of the war, special attempts being made to enlist the support of the student class. The effect in the Madras Presidency gradually increased. In October 1915 Lord Pentland's Government, concerned at the bad results which such an agitation was having at such a time on the Indian population, already alarmed by the exploits of the *Emden*, the bombardment of Madras, and the thousand rumours to which the war gave rise, asked the Government of India to deport Mrs. Besant from India. The Government of Lord Hardinge, far removed from the scene of the fray and not anxious to be involved in the attacks of *New India*, rejected the proposal and recommended Lord Pentland to use against the newspaper the powers given by the Press Act. Unfortunately this enactment which the Government of India had passed amidst much outcry a few years before was a monument of legislative futility. The action taken under it achieved no practical result, while it enabled Mrs. Besant to pose as the victim of official persecution. A year was spent in the endeavour, hindered by the delays of the law courts, to carry out the processes of the Act. By the end of that time the Home Rule agitation, which in October 1915 was a cloud no bigger than a man's hand, had darkened the whole sky. Meantime a change had occurred in the Government of India, and by the

beginning of 1917 Lord Chelmsford, who was now Viceroy, was fully aware of the dangerous character of the agitation. In January 1917 he denounced the Home Rule movement in clear terms and in March 1917 the Government of India officially intimated that a policy of firm discouragement of the Home Rule campaign had become necessary. By private as well as by public exhortation, they urged the Government of Madras to check the campaign of calumny which threatened to undermine the loyalty of the rising generation and to encourage revolutionary outrages. Thus instructed, Lord Pentland in May 1917 made a speech in the Legislative Council, saying that all thoughts of the early grant of responsible government should be entirely put out of mind, and appealing to all those who had influence to discourage dangerous methods and extravagant aims. No change was apparent in the virulent tone of Mrs. Besant's newspaper. So in June 1917 Lord Pentland made a special journey to Madras at the height of the hot weather to acquaint Mrs. Besant personally with the decision of the Government and to offer her the alternative of leaving India, which she declined. The Government of Madras, using the powers under the Defence of India Act to which the Government of India had specially drawn their attention, then prohibited Mrs. Besant and two of her associates from all political activity and directed them to leave Madras and to reside in any one of several selected and salubrious localities. Mrs. Besant herself elected to live at Ootacamund, the summer head-quarters of the Madras Government.

'The action of Lord Pentland and his Government received the approval both of the Viceroy and of the Secretary of State, and possibly if the policy of "firm discouragement" had been consistently and courageously adhered to, the agitation might have died down and the

history of the last ten years might have been different. But it was not to be. In July 1917 Mr. Austen Chamberlain resigned the office of Secretary of State for India and was succeeded by the late Mr. Montagu. A month after assuming office he made his announcement of a new policy, and pressed the Government of India to secure the withdrawal of the restrictions on Mrs. Besant. Yielding to this pressure the Government of India urged the Government of Madras, whose action had been taken at their own instigation, to withdraw the restrictions. After a series of telegrams in which he made all possible protests and representations, Lord Pentland had no option but to give way. Mrs. Besant was restored to the field of political agitation with her prestige enormously enhanced by her signal victory over the local Government.

‘As regards the part taken by Lord Pentland in the events thus briefly summarized, the first question which suggests itself is his attitude towards Indian political demands and aspirations. In this matter he never wavered. He held that the powers given to the Provincial Legislatures under the Morley-Minto Act, far from having been tested or exhausted, had not even been explored. Until those powers had been utilized to the full, it seemed to him to be unnecessary and impolitic to reopen the constitutional question. He wished to see additional functions, both financial and administrative, made over by the Government of India to Provincial Governments and Provincial Legislative Councils, so that there might be a wider field of experiment and experience. Above all, he deprecated the initiation of political discussions at a time when the whole strength of India should be focussed upon the war; he was most anxious to see the whole question of political change postponed till the war was over. A second question which may be suggested is why Lord Pentland, after the public manner in which the policy of his Government

was reversed and overthrown, consented to continue to serve as Governor of Madras. The answer to this question is equally clear. At the moment chosen by Mr. Montagu for his change of policy, the British Empire was almost at the nadir of its fortunes. The disappearance of Russia as a reliable factor on the Allies' side in the war, and the inroads made by the German submarines on British commerce, had produced a highly critical position. Was it fitting that at such a moment a man holding the responsible post of the Governor of a province in India should add to the cares of the Government by resigning on a point of personal prestige? To a man of Lord Pentland's steadfast and ardent patriotism such an act was unthinkable, and he would never have thought of resignation until the war was over and his services no longer necessary. And, it may be added, the fact that the Presidency passed through the entire period without any material disturbance of its tranquillity is strong evidence of the watchful activity and wise caution of the statesman who was at the helm.'

Sir P. Rajagopala Chariyar, K.C.S.I., who was the Indian Member of Council at the time, wrote: 'It was in pursuance of instructions by the Government of India that Lord Pentland in addressing the Legislative Council in 1917 dwelt on the untimeliness and dangerous character of the movement. This speech created a great deal of adverse comment in Indian circles, but Lord Pentland's loyalty to the Government of India was such that he would not say a word, even privately to his best Indian friends, that he was only the mouthpiece of the Government of India. For a considerable length of time the Indian public denounced Lord Pentland as a reactionary. Not one word, however, did Lord Pentland say to defend himself. I mention this to emphasize an aspect of Lord Pentland's character which struck those who worked with him, namely, his absolute and

unswerving loyalty to those above him. It was a favourite expression of his that, if any trouble came as a result of carrying out orders, there must be no hesitation on the part of a Provincial Government in "standing the racket". When in 1918 the reforms which subsequently became the Government of India Act of 1919 were under consideration, Lord Pentland definitely advised that the scheme of government for the provinces now known as diarchy would be very difficult to work. How thoroughly sane his outlook was has been proved by the happenings in India since Lord Pentland left it. I would in this connection refer to the speech of Lord Pentland in the House of Lords on 31st July 1924, when he pleaded for earnest efforts to restore public confidence in India and suggested that an attempt might well be made to distinguish between provinces, such as Madras and Bombay, which had been working the reforms well, and the more backward provinces where the changed system of government had broken down. The speech received a great deal of approval in India and especially so in Lord Pentland's old province.'

In January 1918 Pentland went to stay with Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford at Delhi for a conference between heads of provinces and the Montagu delegation, to consider the reforms proposals. Shortly after the Viceroy's visit to Madras, Pentland wrote to Captain Stott, I.M.S., on the Hospital Ship *Madras*: 'It must be many years since a Viceroy has spent so many days consecutively in Madras or has seen and talked with so many people. I trust it may all bear wholesome fruit. This month I leave for Delhi to attend a conference of heads of provinces there. This journey does not come up to the standard of the delightful holiday which you proposed in your letter, namely, a trip in H.S. *Madras*. But that was too good, I fear, ever to come true.' He wrote afterwards to his brother,

C. G. Sinclair: 'Delhi is something like 2,000 miles from here; the trip involved an absence of 18 nights, 9 of which were spent in the train. I had a day at Cawnpore with Sir Alexander McRobert, who has a very large woollen mill there which is working day and night supplying the troops; he comes from Tarland. At Lucknow I spent a night with the Governor of the U.P., Sir James Meston, another Aberdeenshire man, to see the Colvin School, as we are remodelling our school for Zamindars. I had intended to go after Delhi to see the Aitchison College at Lahore, but there was not time. I went to Ajmer to see the Mayo College there, for the sons of ruling chiefs, a first-class institution, and as it happened struck their Old Boys' Day; cricket and polo matches and lawn tennis, between teams of past and present boys.' He wrote to me 'in train after leaving Cawnpore' of Sir Alexander McRobert's 'huge three-storied Lalimli (= red tamarind) mill, except for a mill at Petrograd, the largest woollen mill in the world. Then to see his Lalimli village where between two and three thousand of his 4,500 workers are housed. No back-to-back houses—sensible man—I could not persuade the Madras Corporation to that. Little courtyards, not rows, again I agree. Then on to Agricultural College: they have just started a herd of Montgomery cattle. . . . Now I am quite ashamed to send such a horrid scrawl, but this carriage does shake sometimes, as you know. Look at the little Housman stanza in the paragraphs of the *Madras Mail* of Jan. 14.' ['These, in the day when heaven was falling.]

He wrote again from Delhi: 'We have conferred every day from 10.30 a.m. till 1, and 2.30 till 6, and the shower of memoranda continues.' On the last day he wrote, in allusion to his having expressed at the Conference criticisms of the diarchy scheme, which many others silently shared: 'as for Daniel he is decidedly

apocryphal! for he has by now been completely gobbled up! Consequently we now turn to more important work, and I am just setting off to inspect the Women's Workshop for war work. To-night a banquet, and speeches, Ugh! For a note had come from Sir Claude Hill, K.C.S.I., asking him to return thanks that night, 25th January, on behalf of the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, at the farewell banquet given by the members of the Viceroy's Council: 'there will be no reporters.' His notes for the speech, however, remain among his papers. Major W. S. E. Money, then Military Secretary, writes: 'I have always been grateful for the experience I gained during the time I was Military Secretary. My one and lasting regret is that I did not hear that speech Lord Pentland made at Delhi. I remember going into his room that evening before dinner; I found him sitting in an armchair in front of a fire thinking out his speech. Although I must have interrupted his train of thought, he showed no signs of annoyance and made me sit down and talk.'

Mr. T. E. Moir, C.S.I., C.I.E., who was then his private secretary, says: 'It was occasions when if a man speaks at all he must speak from the heart, that Lord Pentland could meet in a way often denied to more flowery orators. One such none who was present will ever forget. At the farewell banquet after the Conference at Delhi in 1918, General Sir Charles Monro, the Commander-in-Chief, proposed the health of the guests in a bluff soldier-like speech. The Viceroy, an accomplished after-dinner speaker, made a reference to Lord Pentland as "a very great gentleman", which was received with enthusiasm, for all present knew the dignity with which he had faced decisions thrust upon him, and how he had refused to impart into deliberations of such moment any personal feeling. The Secretary of State followed but broke no new ground: would Lord Pentland give the touch that

was wanting? He began by assuring the Viceroy that the doubts of Madras had been actuated solely by the desire to do what was in the interests of good government: that chapter was closed, "and in Madras as elsewhere it is the future that is our concern." Then he referred to the great assumption we have made that democracy, our own heritage, is also the ultimate form of government for our fellow-subjects in India. Speaking of the magnitude of our responsibility he said: "It is upon our own robust faith in democracy, a faith which rejects insincerities and shams, that we must rely in building the structure we have undertaken to erect. There is a familiar saying in Scotland: 'This is no' my ain hoose; I ken by the biggin' o't.' We must make sure that the house we build is suited to those who will inhabit it and that we substitute for extraneous government a system which will ensure to the people of this country those essential needs which centuries of their own bitter experience have led them to desire passionately, and the continuance of those principles of equal justice, equal opportunities and equal rights to which we have laboriously and even now only partially accustomed them. Democracy is perpetually on its trial and history and even recent events have shown how easily it can be ruined by its excesses or its defects. A greater task still is to prepare the future inhabitants to dwell in this new building." Referring to the difficulties which we and our successors will have to face, he paid a tribute to "the district officers, both Indian and European, of all services, who often in isolation and in circumstances of anxiety and provocation, have by their courage and co-operation enabled us so far to meet those difficulties, and have carried out the administration of the country." Then he related how only a few days before he had stood before the grave of Sir Henry Lawrence, who, as his epitaph says, "tried to do his duty". If, he added, "that

spirit of devotion of which Lawrence was an example should fail in us or in our successors, then all constitutional changes and redistribution of powers, however delicately devised, will be in vain". The ovation which followed confirmed the tribute and was a testimony to Lord Pentland's own sincerity, and to the regard felt for him even by those who had met him at Delhi for the first time.' Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., now Deputy Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the India Office, writes: 'I remember very vividly the effect produced by the speech that Lord Pentland made at a dinner at Delhi in 1918. He spoke of the work of district officers in India, and he spoke with such real knowledge and sympathy, and what he said so obviously came straight from his heart (it was utterly unlike the conventional compliments that men in high places sometimes pay their officers), that it really moved those who heard him. I know that several of those who were present thanked him privately afterwards for saying what he did. That is just an instance of the way in which his gifts of heart and mind made themselves felt.' A few days later Mr. Montagu wrote: 'Very many thanks for your letter . . . I carry with me pleasant memories not only of your assistance but also of one of the best speeches I have ever heard in my life.'

In the following month, February 1918, Pentland went on a second visit to Pondicherry, as the guest of H.E. the French Governor, M. Alfred Martineau, 'gouverneur des établissements français dans l'Inde', who had been to stay several times at Government House, and was about to leave India. It was like going from England to France, by crossing, instead of the Channel, the frontier at Chinnababusamudram, where a board in Tamil, French and English announced the *Douane*. At Pondicherry an escort of mounted *gendarmes* and *cipahis* in French uniforms caracoled beside the carriage along

straight narrow streets hung with *tricolores*. The *salons* of the eighteenth-century Palais du Gouvernement in the *Place* were brilliant with electric lights in lovely old *lustres* for the banquet, where M. Martineau, after speaking of the hospitality he had received from the Governor of Madras, welcomed him thus: 'Dans cette vieille ville de Pondichéry, où sous les ors un peu ternis par le temps, brille quand même une splendeur du passé, je vous reçois à mon tour avec émotion et je dirais presque avec affection, si ce mot était employé dans la langue diplomatique. Votre gouvernement à la fois si sage et si éclairé serait apprécié, même dans une république de Salente, si les peuples se rendaient toujours compte que les hommes qui les dirigent ont avant tout le souci de l'avenir, même au prix de leur popularité.' Speaking also in French, Pentland expressed his thanks to the inhabitants of Pondicherry, a place rich in memories for both races, where now, forgetting old rivalries, they could join in admiration of the soldiers of both armies; and he invited them to drink 'à toutes les gloires de la France' (the inscription on the statue of Dupleix there); and to M. Martineau, 'administrateur, savant et homme d'Etat'. In 1917 M. Martineau had been asked by Pentland to deliver the University Convocation address at Madras, and he was the first Frenchman to perform this duty. He had written a book on the origin of Mahé (1917) and was at work on a history of Dupleix and South India (published 1921). So in this address he aimed at 'showing how filial remembrance can always be allied with highest aspirations for the future; and demonstrating the utility of history by putting before you the general philosophy of the struggle which formerly divided France and England . . . though nobody can tell to-day whether it is the spirit of Wellington or that of Napoleon which inspires their combatants. . . . Happy above all are those who

know how to reconcile without a break traditions of the past with the necessities of improvement.' Pentland wrote to me after this occasion: 'Four hours to-day in conference on educational business; then M. Martineau's address, read in English by Stone; the occasion quite a success, pleasing both Europeans and Indians; and a few words in French from M. Martineau afterwards gave piquancy and interest. Then we had the Nabobs to dine, and the last motors are just whirling away.' The K.C.I.E. conferred by the King on M. Martineau was a recognition of one, as Pentland said of him, 'whose outlook in all common transactions has always made for harmonious co-operation'. M. Martineau wrote from Paris the next year: 'Je tiens à vous dire encore une fois combien je me félicite que mon gouvernement ait correspondu avec le vôtre. Non pas que nous ayons rénové l'un et l'autre l'*Histoire de l'Inde*; nos ambitions furent plus modestes, mais nous avons voulu témoigner que la bonne foi et la sincérité étaient la meilleure des politiques et le plus sûr de tous les calculs.'

Pentland had constantly repeated that apart from the merits of any political reforms, his objection to discussing them was that it diverted public attention from the prosecution of the war. Now, in the anxious spring of 1918, the Government of India summoned a War Conference at Delhi, which was intended to discourage further political discussion, and mobilize further man-power and resources for pushing on with the war. In opening it on 27th April, the Viceroy, H.E. Viscount Chelmsford, said: 'While I am speaking, the great issue still hangs on the balance upon the battlefields of France. It is there that the ultimate decision of India's fate will be taken. . . . Let me be able to tell the Prime Minister that he need have no fear for the East . . . that here India will take full responsibility. If we are to do these things, we must close our ranks. The liberty of

the world must be won before our aspirations for the liberalizing of Indian political institutions can acquire any tangible meaning. . . . We have felt it our duty not to be unmindful of the great problems of reconstruction which will inevitably face all countries when this great war is over. But our task in this respect is now over for the present. . . . Let me then take Burke's immortal phrase and say, Let us pass on. For God's sake let us pass on. Wherever the British flag flies in the Dominions, every nerve is being strained to bring all help in this supreme moment. We will not have it said that India was one whit behind the rest of the Empire.'

Or as Pentland put it when writing to his friend Viscount Sandhurst: 'It is difficult to mobilize men and resources in the middle of strong political controversy: it is impossible to work at both these things at one and the same time. . . . It is a satisfaction to help somewhere, however little one can do, and I must say it is a pleasure to work with the people here.' In May he wrote from Madras to Major H. F. Collingridge, 2/9 Ghurkas, lately Military Secretary, in Mesopotamia: 'At the Delhi War Conference they passed a number of resolutions for the Provinces to carry out and so I am here for a fortnight attending committees on recruiting, war loan, munitions, food supplies, transport, etc.; so we are doing our best for you in our humble way.'

Pentland endeavoured further to see if, as he wrote to Mr. Montagu, 'the most effective help towards war purposes, i.e. to stop all political propaganda,' could not be attained. He wrote to me on 22nd May: 'Our meeting of conspirators in confidential caucus assembled asked further time for consideration. Our conference fell short of possible results, naturally enough, for there was much against full success, e.g. the Delhi conference not having attempted to do this, and the difficulty of

separate provincial action for these politicians. . . . 27th. Our second private conference of non-officials rather spoiled by *la vieille intransigeante*; but we made some progress, of which the most important is that we leave Wednesday: "Exodus" chap. ii. I foresee at least two more before October: oh that the days were longer.' Writing on 23rd May, he described to Mr. Montagu how: 'After private interviews first, and then in joint conference with the leaders of all sections of opinion, including Mrs. Besant, in the hope—ultimately destroyed in conference on the initiative of Mrs. Besant—of obtaining by agreement some general cessation of active political agitation, it was clear to me that a Provincial War Conference would only exhibit publicly the divisions of political opinion here which were confined to discussions in Committees at Delhi, and were openly exposed a fortnight ago at the Bombay War Conference, and would probably increase ill-feeling. The executive work is now well begun and will not suffer.' In these talks Mrs. Besant and other leaders told him that the publication of the Joint Report would be followed by active agitation. Pentland reported this to Mr. Montagu, saying, 'I cannot but think that such agitation may seriously paralyse war effort.' Meantime the Joint Report was published, and Mr. Montagu wrote to Pentland, 26th July 1918: 'I am afraid from what I read in the Press that Mrs. Besant and her friends are trying to promote agitation in regard to the Report, and while I fully appreciate your difficulties I know you will do what you can to control the situation in your province.' But, as Pentland wrote to the Viceroy: 'In the case of *New India*, there is no change in the almost invariably acid and essentially unfriendly tone of its criticism. The complete absence of goodwill towards British rule is unmistakable.'

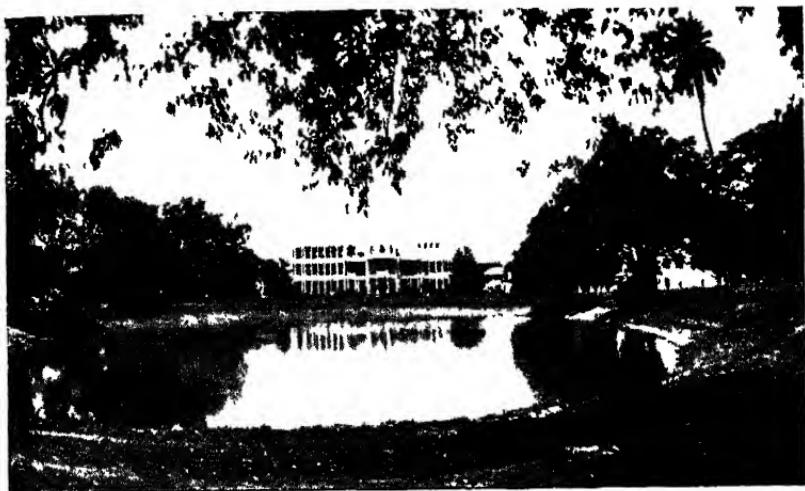
Pentland also told the Secretary of State how the

political agitators had been trying lately to organize labour in mills, railways and offices: 'the immediate risk of this is that it may interfere with the execution of Munitions Board contracts and provoke collisions with the Executive; and that conditions might at any moment be rendered difficult by economic and other causes.' Two or three months later, after a rise in prices, rioting, looting and firing by the police took place in fourteen out of twenty-five districts; and also strikes in the large mills.

Meanwhile Pentland was busy pushing on war business. When the Indian War Loans were raised he interviewed magnates and organized meetings in different places, and did all he could to nerve the efforts of Madras to put her best foot forward. One meeting at Government House, early in the War, was disturbed by a great hubbub in the compound; it was found that a swarm of bees had descended and had caused confusion among the gharries and motor-drivers collected there. He went about to hold recruiting conferences and to inspect recruits, and the Indian Defence Force in training. In August 1918 he was away for a month in the districts on these errands; it was his fifth visit to Calicut, where he held a shipbuilding conference and saw about thirty wooden ships, varying in tonnage from 150 to 350 tons, building on the Beypore River. From Bellary he wrote: 'Saw 4,000 Turkish prisoners this morning, barbed wire entanglements and all. Five hundred of them are Russian Tartars, who were taken prisoners first by the Germans and fought for them.' And at Bangalore, 'owing to the kind offer of Major-General Cross Barratt I had the pleasure of attending a review of some 12,000 men of his Bangalore Garrison. The men looked fit and well and made an excellent appearance on parade'; he saw, too, the voluntary work run for their comfort and entertainment, looking out for any hints useful in Madras.

In the Honours List of the King's Birthday 3rd June 1918, Lord Pentland and Lord Willingdon received the G.C.S.I., and Pentland wrote to the Secretary of State his grateful acknowledgments, adding: 'Let me add that apart from personal considerations I rejoice that this Presidency has been thus recognized at this time. I may not be an impartial critic; but I share the belief held here that all things considered its contributions to the general endeavour during these stirring years have not been unworthy.' The *Madras Mail*, the leading English newspaper there, said on this occasion: 'The G.C.S.I. conferred on Lord Pentland is eminently deserved . . . his personal influence has been felt for good in innumerable ways. In every relation of public and social life he has so borne himself as to maintain to the full the dignity of his position without in the least stifling frank criticism. No predecessor of his can have been more accessible, more courteous, or more averse to playing to the gallery. . . . Lord Pentland has the distinction that was once considered essential to the holding of high positions in public life. Such men's innate sense of what in art would be called style is educative to all those brought in contact with them.' In July the Secretary for State cabled that the prolongation of the War and the imminence of constitutional changes had forced him to consider future arrangements for the Governorships of Madras and Bombay; and on 1st October it was announced that Captain George Lloyd, M.P., would succeed Lord Willingdon as Governor of Bombay in November 1918, and that Lord Willingdon would succeed Lord Pentland as Governor of Madras in the spring of 1919.

On Sundays when he was in Madras Pentland usually attended the evening service at St. George's Cathedral. To get all available air, the electric fans whizzed round overhead, and the porches along the walls on either hand



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, MADRAS



QUEEN MARY'S COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, MADRAS
IN 1927

stood open, showing the sunset change to darkness outside. But on Sunday 10th November 1918, for the first time in his experience, the doors had to be shut against a hurricane, which at night rose to a cyclone. It seemed as if the powers of darkness had burst out in a last desperate fury. The thunder was drowned by the roaring wind and slashing rain; the house shook; the floors were a sea. In the morning great trees had fallen about the compound and blocked all the roads; wires lay in a tangled jumble on the ground, and lights, fans, telegraphs, telephones and trams were useless. So it was not until 7 a.m. on the 12th that Pentland received the message 'Armistice signed'. He despatched the Military Secretary to the Chairman of the Publicity Board, and in an hour or two posters in three languages were up on the walls and being hurried round the streets fixed to jutkas and bicycles. Before the news came Pentland had arranged, with a Committee, what the programme of celebration was to be: on the first day a public holiday, and religious services held in churches, mosques and temples, next day a party at Government House, next day a review of troops, sports and fireworks. There was also feeding of the poor in twenty centres of Madras, and Pentland drove about to visit them; one of the Corporation was in charge at each place, the Brahman members in white cloths and without turbans, their diamond ear-rings the only distinction from poorer Brahmans. At each centre hundreds of people squatted on the ground in rows, with a leaf in front of each person; the cooks carried round great pots of rice and dealt a portion on to each leaf; another man came to put a spoonful of ghi on to each heap of rice, another passed along with a can of pepper water, another with curried vegetables; then the guests stirred it all up with their fingers and started on the feast.

At the Armistice party at Government House Pentland

said a word or two on the anxieties we had shared in common and our reverence and gratitude to the men who had brought about this end. At the Legislative Council the next week he summed up the war efforts of the Presidency, which had been 'achieved by a desire to co-operate for a common purpose among those Europeans and Indians alike, who have worked together on committees and boards, official and non-official, to secure common aims; who have recognized that though men may differ even materially as to policy, their ultimate aims do not necessarily diverge, and there are large fields in which joint endeavour is open to them. The aim has been to emphasize points of agreement rather than points of difference and to seek always the common good. The sense of our responsibilities and opportunities has been quickened by these experiences. So when we express by this resolution our solemn sense of the debt we owe, and our pride that we have been privileged in some measure to serve our King-Emperor, and to defend his cause in a special sense during these last four years, let us pledge ourselves that so far as in us lies for the years to come, and in the labours for the public good which these years will bring, that goodwill and sympathy and comradeship shall continue and multiply among us.' But he was under no illusion about the times ahead, both in India and in Europe. On Christmas Day, his seventh in Madras, he wrote to Lord Aberdeen: 'It will need all the collective wisdom to surmount the difficulties, and all the patience; and all the goodwill of this Christmas time. But out here we can only look on, so I shall defer any further havers!'

During 1918 the provincial governments were, at the request of the Government of India, working hard, at high pressure, to collect opinions and draw up figures for the information of the two Reforms Committees

who in this cold weather came out with Lord Southborough as Chairman, to report on the franchise and division of subjects to be adopted under the Joint Report scheme. Mr. F. W. Gillman, I.C.S., C.S.I., Member of the Madras Executive Council, went north to join the Committees as one of the Madras representatives, and on 5th November wrote to Pentland from Bombay of the feeling against the diarchy scheme which he found there, and said in conclusion: 'It was not only a great pleasure to me but also a liberal education to serve under you, and I shall ever look back on the time, which was one of stress, with feelings of deepest regard for my chief.' A fortnight later Mr. Gillman died of pneumonia at Simla, a loss that was deeply felt at Madras, where as Chairman of the Recruiting Board he had just taken the lead in the recruiting movement.

In January 1919 Pentland accomplished one or two more expeditions. He went north to present to the Raja of Parlakimedi the *sanad* conferring the personal title of Raja; he had a conference about starting an Oriya College and laid the foundation-stone of a new building given by the Raja for the Oriya Girls' School. He said 'the absolute necessity of extending the benefits of education to the women of this country is recognized by all thoughtful Indians . . . when I was here in 1913 the number of pupils was 182 and it is now 248 . . . so we may feel confident that ere long it will be as natural for all parents who are in a position to do so to send their girls to school as their boys'.

Pentland had encouraged the Boy Scouts' movement in Madras, both among Anglo-Indians and Indians, and at a joint rally held at Government House in February 1919 they gave him the thanks badge. He offered them a special flag which he afterwards got made at home, bearing the Star of India with its motto that he liked:

‘Heaven’s Light our Guide.’ He had sent one recruit to the Scouts at Ootacamund, and one to the Girl Guides, from his own family, and he took them both in January 1919 for their first ‘camp’, with tents, to see the rock forts of Ginji, and the raths at the Seven Pagodas, where they were carried in the ancient palanquins of the Zamindar of Chunampet. After climbing to the top of Tirukazhikundaram rock, they saw the two white kites who were supposed to come daily from Benares, appear out of the blue at noon to be fed by the temple priest, before the eyes of worshippers struck with wonder. In a houseboat propelled by numerous rowers and towers, he penetrated to Alambarai, an old Muhammadan brick fort on the southern Chingleput sea-coast, which had been given by Murzafa Jung to the French under Dupleix in 1750 and taken by Sir Eyre Coote after the battle of Wandiwash in 1760. As it had not yet been surveyed he walked about its large enclosure taking careful notes and photographs, followed by an interested crowd of ryots whom he afterwards addressed through an interpreter.

He was always on the lookout to preserve any literary Madrasiana. In aid of the War Fund he got printed a later edition of *Madras Occasional Verse*, which was a collection of light verse by authors mostly in the I.C.S.; and the skit about Government House, Ootacamund, called *History Repeating Itself*. The late Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., then District Judge at Masulipatam, afterwards Curator of the Madras Record Office, and Editor of *Gazetteers*, sent him at Christmas 1918 a poem on the Romance of Bunder, about the

Sovereign times of proud resort,
When Bunder was a soldiers’ port.
Then came the great ships sailing down;
Now no man sails to Bunder Town.

* * * *

O fallen from thy high estate,
 Queen of the shore disconsolate,
 I see as in a mirror glass'd
 The giants of thy pompous Past,
 The factors of an elder day
 And younger sons as bold as they
 Who left their bleak and burly land
 For Kistna's mouths of shifting sand.
 With all their striving they have won
 Invincible oblivion.

* * * *

. . . . God rest you merry, spirit land,
 Where the dead bones walk hand in hand.

And on Christmas Day 1918 Pentland replied: 'I thank you much for your kindness in sending me a copy of your poem on Bunder. I hope you will carry out your intention of publishing it with the local allusions. Not only would that increase the pleasure and interest of those who can enjoy it, but your example might be an encouragement and stimulus to others in the rich fields of Southern India. . . . If perchance you are not coming to Madras for the I.C.S. dinner and the Pongal holidays, would you care to come here now for two or three days? . . .'

Just as Pentland enjoyed the opportunities of closer acquaintance which he gained when staying with Collectors and his other hosts in the districts, in the same way it was a great pleasure to him to welcome them, and other guests from all quarters, to spend a few nights at Government House. Often they came to do some business as well, or to take part in some conference. The late Sir George Paddison, I.C.S., C.S.I., K.B.E., one of the ablest and most popular members of his service, who was put in charge of a new separate department to promote the interests of the depressed classes, wrote in our visitors' book, after staying at Ooty for an Education Conference:

EDUCATION—May, 1918

Hey, the bonny conference that's gathered from afar,
 From palmy Palamcottah to muggy Malabar;
 Eight and twenty dominies to make a little Bill
 To teach the little shepherd boys their empty heads to fill.

Many other visitors conferred a lasting kindness by adorning this book with skilful pens and pencils, and with the phrases and scripts of the different tongues in which they were learned. As Colonel A. H. Deane, C.I.E., for several years British Consul at Pondicherry, wrote on one of the pages:

Le Souvenir, présent céleste
 Ombre des biens que l'on n'a plus,
 Est encore un plaisir qui reste
 Apres tous ceux qu'on a perdus.

There is also in it a sonnet to England written by another friend whose poems Pentland valued, the Nawab Nizamat Jung, C.I.E., O.B.E., M.A., of Hyderabad, who had taken his degree at Trinity College, Cambridge:

Home of my youth, O England! Thou to me
 Hast given the soul's best gifts, but while I stand
 Thy liegeman for that boon, this idle hand
 Doth shame my heart's unvalued fealty.
 Ah! would it could in this thy jeopardy
 Strike at thy haughty foe at love's demand!
 Ah would 'twere mine to wield the warrior's brand
 To dare and die, like thine own sons, for thee.

Vain thought, vain words! these feeble limbs no more
 Can move with youth's high hope in battle-line
 As once they might have moved in days of yore,
 When youth and health and youth's high hope were mine.
 Though vain the thought, and vain word's idle store,
 Beyond all thoughts and words my heart is thine!

The Nawab Nizamat Jung says: 'I can never forget Lord Pentland's kindness and courtesy to me when I

first met him in 1915. It made such a deep impression upon my mind that I at once began to look upon him as one of those rare spirits whose friendship comes as an unexpected boon and does not require a lengthy process of cultivation.' Writing to Pentland in 1921, 'in these days when there is so much talk of racial antipathy', Nizamat Jung said of the friendships which unite England and India: 'In this lies hope for the future; and the time will come when larger numbers will feel—when this feverish agitation is over—that their country can only achieve prosperity and greatness by moving forward on the path of progress *with* England and not *without* her.'

By March 1919 Pentland was putting the last touches so that all might be left and taken away in order. From Madras he wrote to me at Ooty: 'As to the Shieling, the last act of kindness which you could do to it would be to see that the fence and locks, etc., are all in good order.' Again: 'Somehow a very busy day "catching flies" . . . all this packing and pulling up of roots reminds me of *The Rake's Progress*;' then on 15th March he says: 'At 5 p.m. on 29th, as at present—we sail beyond the western stars! Until then, except when at garden parties, interviews, and interviews!'

Generous entertainments and expressions of esteem were offered him all round. Some of the Indian nationalists, however, did not wish to join in addresses to the Governor, and he wrote to me from Government House, Madras: 'Just had the last of our men's parties here. The poor fellows cannot agree to entertain me, so this is the other way to do it.' The same thing had happened in Bombay: Lord Willingdon wrote of 'feasts and eulogy on one side and all sorts of awful things said on the other; it's all very bewildering'. As Pentland had written to him in June, after a meeting where Lord Willingdon had spoken: 'We all ought to be grateful

to you for making plain the position; the Indian politician has not been so long at the game as we have, and as a consequence is far too sensitive to criticism, so sensitive often that he cannot be fair to his critics . . . ; if it heartens the moderates you will have your reward.' These protests were just a way of asserting political opinions, not personal animosity; the feeling of Pentland's critics may be gathered from the comments after his death of the two Madras newspapers which had attacked him most fiercely: *New India* said: 'Though unfortunately Lord Pentland lent himself to be a tool in the hands of those who would hold India in thraldom, he was a good man, and had Indian friends even among the Progressives. After his retirement he showed himself to be more sympathetic than several other ex-Governors. In a recent debate in the House of Lords in which a number of them attacked Labour's sympathetic Indian policy, he struck a refreshingly liberal note and pleaded for fair play for India. *New India* has of course no grudge against him and sends him in his rest a sincere message of peace and goodwill.' The *Hindu* said: 'He was a Liberal in British politics though unfortunately his Indian career was not marked by liberalism in any sense of the word. Personally, Lord Pentland was a gentleman. Amiable in nature, of unblemished character, rather obstinate, Spartan in his ways, Lord Pentland possessed virtues which in a marked degree appealed to the Indian temperament and which but for the unknown and unknowable irony which often rules the world, might have made him a popular Governor. . . .' Another Madras paper, the *Daily Express*, said: 'All people who came into contact with Lord Pentland in official or in private life during his seven years' tenure of office as Governor of Madras were uniformly impressed by his courtesy, charm of manners, readiness to listen to other points of view and that

saving grace of humour of which gods are said to be jealous. He was a clear and forceful speaker and a ruler who tried to do the right thing according to his lights. Though his action with regard to the Home Rule movement brought him a good deal of odium, he made few personal enemies.'

On the day he left Madras the *Madras Mail* published its customary review of the retiring Governor's régime; in this case he had 'held office for a longer time than any Governor since Sir Thomas Munro . . . and he knew Madras city as few residents know it'. After speaking of his work in education, public health, agriculture, the War, politics, the Legislative Council, it concluded: 'but if with the departure of Lord Pentland the public life of the Presidency will lose one who has inspired and enriched it, there are many with whom the feeling of personal loss will predominate at this time. His ready sympathy found no trouble too great to take if thereby disappointments could be softened, difficulties overcome or distress relieved. In the result Lord Pentland was blessed in intimacies and friendships beyond most men and in the capacity to retain them irrespective of personal issues and of the vicissitudes of office.'

On his departure from Madras the Zamindars wished to show their appreciation of Pentland's interest in the welfare of the landed aristocracy of the Presidency, and subscribed Rs. 21,810 for a hall at the new Rajkumar College, to be called after him. When the scheme for a College was abandoned, the money was used to build the Pentland Hall at the premises of the Madras Land-holders' Association. The hall was opened by H.E. Viscount Goschen, Governor of Madras, on 19th August 1925.

The following were some farewell letters: From His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore: 'I regret very much Your Excellency's approaching departure.

... Your Excellency's régime has been one of exceptional strain and difficulty, which called forth the highest form of statesmanship and it is a bare truth to say that Your Excellency has by your deep devotion to duty, untiring energy, and conspicuous ability, solved the numerous difficult problems of the eventful period with great success and universal satisfaction. I cannot adequately express my deep indebtedness to Your Excellency for the great consideration shown to me and my State by Your Excellency . . . and I entertain the hope that our friendship which I look upon as a valuable acquisition in life will continue unabated.' From Major-General W. Cross Barratt, H.Q. 9th Div., Bangalore: 'On behalf of all Ranks, British and Indian, of the 9th Division, I am writing to wish Your Excellency Good-bye and God-speed. Your Excellency's departure is a severe loss to all of us soldiers, as we realize very fully the very kind interest you have always taken in our welfare and the sympathetic help you have so readily given us.' And from Diwan Bahadur R. Ramachandra Rao, C.S.I., Secretary to Government: 'It is a difficult position for Indians of family with family pride to serve in the midst of European and other Indian colleagues. We accept service to serve our country to the best of our lights. And in the discharge of such duties we value kind social treatment even in preference to official advancement. In return for Your Excellency's kindness I have always endeavoured sinking my own views to try to act up to Your Excellency's ideas; and my reward is if I should in some part at least have justified Your Excellency's selection.' From the Secretary of the Madras Musical Association: 'I am desired by the Committee of the Association to express to you, on behalf of its members, their great regret at your impending departure. . . . The Association was revived in 1915 at a meeting originated and

presided over by you: and since then amid all the cares and duties of a high office you have always made it a point to attend our Concerts. . . . Your interest has been an invaluable sign of appreciation that we have not wholly failed in attaining our end—that of maintaining a continuous tradition of the performance of serious music in Madras.' From Mr. P. A. Subramania Aiyar, Head Master, Hindu High School, Triplicane: 'I beg leave to tender my most grateful thanks for what Your Excellency has been personally to me and others of my humble profession. . . . It will be our most earnest endeavour to see to it that the Boy Scouts' movement which was set on foot by Your Excellency spreads on sound lines. It will ever be a matter of pride to me that the *first* batch of scouts in this province were turned out from this school and received their distinctive badges at Your Excellency's hands in April 1917. The certificate of merit granted to our school as being the first in physical competition in 1917 which bears Your Excellency's signature will ever adorn the walls of this school.'

To the Viceroy, H. E. Viscount Chelmsford, Pentland wrote on 28th March 1919: 'On the eve of laying down my office here, I should like to express to you my sense of gratitude for the regard and consideration which you have been good enough to show me here during my term of office. . . . Labour unrest certainly exists and so far there has been no cessation of political discussion. . . . All the same a cordial welcome will be given by all to Lord Willingdon, for his personality and popularity are well known and admired, and his experience of India and the prestige of his administration in Bombay are unique credentials which command universal respect.' In 1925, after Pentland's death, Lord Chelmsford wrote: 'I have much cause to be grateful to Lord Pentland. I knew that he did not see

eye to eye with me in many things, but I knew that in dealing with him I was dealing with a very great gentleman, and in my experience of life very great gentlemen are few and far between. I look back then with pleasure and gratitude to my association with him.'

Just before leaving, Pentland sent parting notes to those with whom he had been associated in Madras: Mr. P. R. Rama Aiyar says: 'I cherish the following letter, written to me on the day of Lord Pentland's departure from Madras, because it sums up for me the delicacy, generosity and humility of the man that I was privileged to know.' '29th March 1919. Before leaving Madras, I should like to thank you for the friendly help which you have at all times been ready to give me, and for the pleasant memories which I carry away of our acquaintance. With cordial good wishes to you for the years to come. I am, Yours very faithfully, PENTLAND.'

In writing to the Nawab Syed Hussain Bilgrani, Hyderabad, he said: 'You will I am sure know that in days to come, as during these years here, it will be my earnest desire to serve the interests of India where I leave so many kind friends.' As he wrote in another note to the Rev. F. L. Marler of the London Mission, Anantapur: 'Madras, and all our friends in it who are working for the benefit of its peoples, can never now be far from our thoughts.'

Mrs. C. R. Tiruvenkatachari, a lady belonging to a leading Brahman family, and honoured for her efforts in various excellent movements, wrote to me in 1925: 'The Indian ladies were very much touched by Lord Pentland's kindness and courtesy to them. We well remember the public farewell at the Banqueting Hall just before your departure. Just before you left the Hall Lord Pentland came to us and wished each one individually Good-bye.' From the Banqueting Hall he drove in the state carriage to the harbour and went

aboard. As the B.I.S.S. *Chindwara* steamed out, bound for Tilbury, the little yachts of the Madras Sailing Club sailed along in line beside her, to speed their commodore on his way.

XI

AT HOME

ON 1st May 1919, a day of icy winds, of snow showers and sunshine, S. S. *Chindwara* passed 'the Wight' and the familiar marks of the Channel coast, waited in the Downs to unship her anti-mine paravanes, took aboard a pilot, came up the Thames at night, and anchored off Tilbury at 2.30 a.m. Next day a tug conveyed the passengers ashore, and as a first sign of all that had happened since 1912, their tickets were examined by a girl. At Liverpool Street station there were rubicund-looking crowds, omnibuses, rain and mud; after an absence of six and a half years, Pentland was 'at home' again. Since he joined the army in 1879, he had devoted his whole time to the service of the State. Twenty years of it was with pay, twenty years without; he never in his life made any money for himself except his salary from the Government. The varied activities in which Pentland had joined, his inquiring mind, and his strong human interests, drew him into touch with many ideas, things, and people with whom he remained in communication after the cause of his association with them had passed. To carry on his correspondence was an undertaking in itself, especially with his standard of promptness, and without the advantages of secretaries and office machinery, which he had used to the full while they were available. In the days of adjustment after the Peace, there were many odd services to be rendered by a word in the proper quarter here and there. Though

he was nominally free, he was still very busy. He never left ragged ends or dropped anything abruptly; and he continued to lend a hand in the different fields where he had been employed. He was made a Governor of Wellington College; a Trustee for the property of the 5th Lancers; a member of the Carnegie Trust for the Universities for Scotland; of the Parliamentary Standing Joint Committee on Indian Affairs; of the Committee of the London Library; he had joined the London Library as a life member in 1890.

Directly he returned from India, Pentland set to work on the papers left to his charge by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. He went through the letters, got copies typed, and wrote to try and get information from all possible sources. He asked Mr. J. A. Spender to write the Life, which was published by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton in 1923. He was responsible for the whole of the large expense connected with it; a sum was provided towards the cost of publication by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's family, but it was refunded by Pentland when the book came out. Among the papers was a series of letters written from abroad by the young Henry Campbell in 1850-51, when he was fourteen. In the Life, Mr. Spender said: 'A few years hence they may have an interest of their own as a picture of the old Europe which is rapidly fading from our eyes.' Pentland completed his trust by editing them, and they were published by Messrs. Fisher Unwin early in 1925.

The political situation had changed since the time of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. It was least different, however, in the House of Lords, where the small party of Liberal peers, who in influence and industry made up for their numbers, had for long persevered in stating their views against an overwhelming majority. Pentland did all he could to help there, and heartily supported

Liberalism again in other ways. He took meetings in the country, and during each of the General Elections of 1922, 1923 and 1924 he spoke in a number of constituencies. He was a Vice-President of the Scottish Liberal Federation; he started the idea of a Liberal Summer School for Scotland, and presided at its first gathering, which was held in Edinburgh in 1924. He was full of confidence in the younger generation and wanted to encourage them in every way. So he gladly helped the Eighty Club, whose members go to meetings as voluntary speakers, and otherwise promote the knowledge of Liberal principles; he had been a member of the Club since 1887 and became a life member in 1923.

The Year Book of the Eighty Club for 1925 said: 'For three years the Club has had the invaluable and splendid guidance of Lord Pentland as Chairman of the Committee. Your Committee, who were closely associated with him, know of the immense amount of time that Lord Pentland devoted to the interests of the Club. He hardly missed a Committee Meeting or a Club function during the period of his Chairmanship and he was unceasing in his efforts to promote the interests and well-being of the Club. Not only the Club but the party have lost in him a great Liberal, who by his life and character embodied all that is best in the Liberal ideal.' Mr. M. Keith Jackson, then Secretary of the Eighty Club, wrote: 'In 1922, when the prospects of the Liberal Party were particularly gloomy, the Committee of the Eighty Club approached Lord Pentland, who was already a Vice-President of the Club, with an urgent request to become their Chairman. He accepted and threw himself unstintingly into the task of reviving the fortunes of the Club, which had suffered through the War and the political mentality of the electorate, and much of its regeneration is due to his efforts and interest. He was always thinking of any way in which he could help the

Club, and his ready willingness won the hearts of all who came in contact with him.' Mr. Arthur F. W. Johnson, Honorary Treasurer of the Eighty Club, writes: 'The main object Lord Pentland had in view while guiding the affairs of the Club at a most difficult time was, without in any way compromising Liberal principles, to restore unity in the party. His patience and never-failing courtesy while striving for this end filled those of us who saw his efforts at first-hand with admiration and wonder. He died suddenly in January, but nevertheless the joint dinner to Lord Oxford and Mr. Lloyd George in the following July would not have taken place but for Lord Pentland's efforts.' A member of the Club describes in a letter how, feeling very nervous, he made one of his first political speeches when Lord Pentland was in the chair. It comprised 'an attack—as strong as I could make it—on the party leaders and on all the powers that were. Some of the authorities who were present evidently regarded it as impertinence, but I was always grateful to Lord Pentland for the tolerance he showed me from the chair, and above all for the fact that at the end he came up and said that I "must be sure to speak again". After that he helped me once or twice when I could get hardly any other support from people of importance in the party. . . . Though I had seen very little of him he had always been so quite unnecessarily nice and helpful.'

Pentland was also on the Cobden Club Committee, the Political Committee of the Reform Club, the National Reform Union, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Society. He was a keen member of the League of Nations Union and of the British Institute of International Affairs. He was much attracted by the work of the Student Christian Movement and gave a dinner on its behalf at the House of Commons, when about fifty influential guests came to hear about its work. He acted as President of the British Com-

mittee for the Ninth World's Sunday School Convention, held at Glasgow in 1924; he was interested in the National Adult School Union and in their publications and attended local meetings. He was an active Vice-President of the Royal Caledonian Schools, a Governor of the Royal Scottish Corporation, and a Vice-President of the Archer House Home for Nurses.

He carried on his connection with India by becoming the Chairman of the Council of the East India Association, President of the British in India Mission, Vice-President of the Indian Empire Club, and of the British Indian Union. The gatherings of these organizations gave him the opportunity of meeting those who were interested in India, and besides that he was always on the lookout to welcome the British and Indian friends he had known in India, and to arrange anything that might be of use to them. He wrote from this country to those who were in India, and at New Year sent them greetings accompanied by sayings picked with much care from his collection of the passages which had struck him in his reading. It gave him great pleasure to receive the letters of news that came from far and wide in answer. After his death in 1925 the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri wrote: 'It was with great grief I read the news in the paper: only the day before I had received his greetings for the Christmas season. His letter contained a few pregnant suggestions for the political well-being of India. I shall no more discuss these or any other plans with him. Would you let me add that to him I owed my first appointment to the Madras Legislative Council. Since then he had watched me with almost a father's solicitude. His affection sustained me, his approbation, more hinted than expressed, rewarded me. If I come again to England, who shall offer me guidance and hospitality with the same anxiety as he?'

Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, C.I.E., in the course

of a tribute which appeared in the *Madras Mail*, 15th January 1925, said: 'Having learnt from Sir Murray Hammick that I had been lying ill in a Nursing Home in London in January 1922, on my way to British Guiana, Lord Pentland quietly walked into my room and stood before me. I was lounging in a chair; I looked up surprised at the intrusion. He smiled and his eyes sparkled with kindness and fun, and he gently asked me, "Do you recognize me?" For a second I was baffled, for he was not quite as thin and pale as we had known him in Madras. He spent some time with me making kindly inquiries and ended with an invitation to tea. With his characteristic considerateness, he took my son and sent an unopened tin of our Venkatachellam curry-powder, so welcome to the Indian palate, when one is abroad and sick.' His Highness the ex-Raja of Cochin, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., also wrote: 'The several pieces of kindness my son and I have received at his hands are still very fresh and will be so for ever. I have lost a very sincere and intimate friend in him.' Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, C.I.E., then Deputy-President of the Madras Legislative Council, wrote: 'I had a loving letter from him only a week prior to his death; I can hardly forget his kindness while I was in London.' From Rao Bahadur O. Kandaswami Chetty: 'His is a memory which will serve as a treasure of the mind. For my part I cannot forget his kind interest in me when I was in London last year.'

When Pentland left Madras in 1919, a number of kind friends there, repeating what had been done on previous occasions after the departure of a Governor, subscribed for portraits to be added to the pictures of the other Governors and their wives which hung at Government House. The report to the subscribers issued after the fund was wound up in 1921 said: 'A Committee was formed with Sir William Beardsell as

Chairman and Sir James Simpson and Mr. K. S. Dorai Raja of Pudukota as Joint Honorary Secretaries. The response was good and at the request of the Committee, Lord Pentland undertook to make all arrangements for the portraits in London. The portrait of Lady Pentland was entrusted to Mr. William Nicholson. . . . The picture of Lord Pentland (full length in the Scottish Archers' uniform) was painted by Mr. Eric H. Kennington . . . and was hung in the Royal Academy this year. . . . The pictures were unveiled on the 12th November in the Banqueting Hall, at an "At Home" given by Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon.' Sir James Simpson, one of the Honorary Secretaries, wrote later about the correspondence in connection with the portraits: 'I remember being impressed at the time not only with the beautiful penmanship but with the industry displayed in writing all these letters with his own hand, and with the infinite pains Lord Pentland took before finally deciding upon the artists.'

Pentland's last speech in Parliament, in a House of Lords debate on India, 31st July 1924, has already been mentioned¹; in the course of it he said, speaking of the Report of Lord Lee's Commission on the Superior Civil Services :

'It is more than financial help that is required. The work, the outlook, the career, the future before them must influence men at present in the Services and men about to join the Services, and it is essential in the interests of India itself that we should do our utmost to maintain the spirit, the traditions and the efficiency of these Services as they have been known in the past.'

'But the welfare of these Services is bound up with the whole question of the reforms. Now there are many criticisms which were made at the time of the introduction of the reforms, and which have been made since, with which many noble Lords have much sympathy. It was said at the time that they were hastily constructed. It is undoubtedly the fact that they were imposed upon India; they were not the result of any growth of

¹ See pp. 254 and 272.

Indian institutions. We were then under the difficulties of the immediate legacies of the Great War, and it has often been said, not without justice, that Parliament was somewhat rushed into passing these reforms. There are many other criticisms which have great weight, although not sufficient weight, in my opinion, was given to them at the time. There was no hearing for such criticisms at the time.

'On the other hand, we have to recognize the facts of the situation. The fact is that the Government of India Act was passed, and has been working for the last four or five years, and criticisms which were apt and appropriate enough during the period of consideration before that Act was passed, are open to be misunderstood at the present time, especially in India, where opinions and feelings are sensitive. When, for instance, it is argued as against further advance that the population is illiterate, that the electorates are narrow, when the caste system and Hindu and Moslem rivalry are spoken of, we are legitimately reminded that all these circumstances were known to us before the passing of the 1919 Act.

'Therefore I would plead for some discrimination in applying these criticisms to the present situation. They are much too apt to act as irritants. We had much better, in my judgment, accept the 1919 Act and its having been in existence and working for the last four or five years, as facts, and as the foundation upon which we have to build for the future. Diarchy was an experiment never tried elsewhere before; we chose to try it upon India, and the responsibility is ours. All these circumstances seem to me to point to a full and frank recognition—to which nobody gives more eloquent expression than the noble Marquess Lord Curzon—of the fact that we are bound by what we have done, and must do our best loyally to help India on her way towards self-government. I say this because I believe there is no greater need at this moment than to restore confidence in India in our intentions to see her through this difficult transition period. Anything that we can do now to restore confidence will do more to act as a solvent in these minor questions of organization, than anything concrete we can do at the present moment.

'Let us recognize also that besides giving these constitutional reforms to India we have of our own act admitted India to the Imperial Conferences and Versailles. All that has tended to awaken and give force to the political consciousness of India. Having done that, we have got to recognize it and try to guide it.

'These being the facts, what can we do? I hesitate to suggest definite steps, because I have left India five years, and I know how easy it is to get out of touch with Indian opinion and conditions, but I suggest three steps in which action may be possible. In the first place I think it should be carefully considered and examined whether the electorates of the different elected bodies are serving their purpose in truly representing the opinion

of India. . . . Then I come to the Central Government. We all agree that for the great central interests of India . . . it is essential, for the sake of India, that a strong Government should be maintained. But it seems to me of great importance that everything that is possible should be done to make Indians feel that it is their own Government, and that we maintain this Central Government in its full strength as a guarantee for the orderly progress of India towards full responsible government.

'Next take the Provincial Governments. We have heard during this discussion a great deal about the misgovernment, and the difficulty of government, in the Central Provinces and in Bengal; but nothing about Provinces where the reforms have been creditably worked, where there has been evidence of an honest intention to work the reforms, and where, in the exercise of that intention, there has been displayed a considerable measure of sound sense and political judgment. Surely that drives home to us what has been repeatedly pointed out, and what was too much forgotten in the initiation of these reforms—namely that the whole of India is not on the same level of political knowledge and achievement. Is it too late to recognize that in our practical politics? Surely it is reasonable to suggest that Provinces which have worked the machine well should be given opportunities of an extension of the area of their working? Given safeguards for the depressed classes and for any special difficulties, could there be any better guarantee of good faith on our part, could there be any greater encouragement to India on its path of self-realization, than to discriminate between such Provinces as Madras, Bombay, and, I understand, the United Provinces and possibly Bihar and Orissa, and Provinces which have not succeeded in working them so well? . . .

'And I submit, with all respect, that it is impossible, and if not impossible, unwise—for us to take other than a hopeful view of the situation in India. We may have made mistakes, but they are mistakes which can be repaired, above all if we can succeed in restoring throughout India a sense of our ability and good intention to pursue the path to which we are pledged.'

Those who have served in India even for a few years know the problems that arise on return. There is the unpacking after a long absence; though Pentland had simplified this both in regard to things stored in England, and those brought from India, by his usual method of numbering all boxes and insisting on full lists of their contents. There is the difference in climate; he had a bad attack of pneumonia, which he defeated, however,

with the help of his friend Dr. Kellgren, whose manual treatment Pentland had for long found to be the best remedy in any indisposition. Then it has to be decided where, how and for what children are to be educated; many were his investigations on this subject. The other key question is, where to live? Though a place to lodge in London seemed necessary for the time being, he wanted it to be smaller than 7 Cambridge Square. So in 1924, after an exploration of highways and by-ways which gradually extended farther off and higher up, he moved to Frognal End, Frognal Gardens, Hampstead. The house was built in 1891 by Sir Walter Besant, who lived and wrote his books there until his death in 1901; his grave is in the churchyard close by, with the epitaph: 'Write me as one that loves his fellow-men.' Pentland wished that the house should be run by electricity, both because he thought it was the coming power, and because he was anxious not to add to smoke and fogs; so he made full inquiries in order to discover the most economical and effective electrical methods. To the details of measuring and planning, fittings and decorations he gave as much care as to greater matters. Foresight and personal attention save expense in these matters, and he could not bear waste of money or material, time or labour. Yet on occasions he was just as determined to spend handsomely, and his standard of values often made this inevitable. His presents to others, for instance, were chosen with lavish thought and were as beautiful as possible. Though his own wants were extremely simple, he was particular that furniture, pictures, books and other visible belongings should be sound, fine and properly looked after. In his writing arrangements, his packing, his clothes, he observed a precise order; and after going through his letters and papers, his lists and diaries, no slip of the pen has yet come to light, no trace of carelessness in words or in facts. So he spared no pains to

make his house right; by July 1924 it was ready to live in and enjoy. To show Pentland's relations with those he met in business, one may quote what the legal adviser who helped him in the negotiations for the purchase of the house wrote after his death: 'I looked forward to his every visit here. He grasped all points of difficulty at once and was always so extraordinarily courteous and kind in all his dealings. He always realized one's difficulties and made allowances for them, which only a really fine character does when dealing with his professional adviser.'

But London he regarded as a workshop; he had always looked forward to some kind of holding in Scotland when there should be leisure to occupy it. Now he started searching for the right place and journeyed to many possible homes, making careful notes and plans of all he saw. In the meantime the attractions of St. Andrews led to a house there every autumn. *Wayward*, a fast and beautiful cutter of 20 tons, had been sold when Pentland went to Madras. So in 1922 and 1923 he chartered *Bunyip*, 17 tons, his first and last yacht with a motor; and *Freda*, 33 tons, a Bristol pilot cutter, for family cruises along the south coast and to Guernsey. He was looking for another modest boat of his own, for he thought this kind of yachting a recreation not only delightful but salutary. While moving houses he carried with him some books on navigation to prepare for taking a master's certificate.

He seemed to feel it a constant necessity to give some time to reflection and self-education, as well as to private and public duties. He wrote: 'How can feeling be rightly directed and controlled without thinking, and how little nourishment for thought there is in the day's work for most of us?' He read the Bible and many of the mystics and devotional writers. He enjoyed the works of Bunyan and the books on them by Dr. Alex-



DRIVING FROM THE FIRST TEE, OLD COURSE, ST. ANDREWS, OCTOBER 1924
THE LAST PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN OF LORD PENTLAND

ander Whyte. He always read with a pencil in his hand for making notes. During the first summer holidays at St. Andrews after his return from India, in order to refresh his memory, he filled five thick quarto notebooks with an abstract which he made from the Annual Register, of events from 1905 to 1919. By a catholic survey of periodicals, books, and other literature he tried to keep up with modern international thought on ethics and education, politics and economics, the scientific use of mind and body. His interest was not in speculation, but in any practical help towards ideal, serviceable, cheerful life, in experiments which followed nature and discarded artificial standards. For himself at any rate he believed in a light non-meat diet, which he had adopted many years before vitamins were recognized, in air and exercise, in 'courage and gaiety and the quiet mind'. The erect poise of his head and his quick swinging stride seemed to express his nature.

He was quick to notice everything and would take in at once the least new feature in a room. Perhaps the power of observation gave him judgment; certainly when he said 'You'll find that . . .' it usually came true. He looked at any matter afresh, on its own merits, and took his course upon it accordingly. When consulted on any point, he gave it his whole mind, and sometimes therefore his advice indicated an unexpected degree of trouble for the inquirer; he was always ready to take unlimited trouble in the case himself. He had an excellent memory and never forgot to execute even a trifling message or commission. He was so free from prejudice and the force of habit that he often proposed or did something completely unexpected; if it caused surprise, he would say: 'You can't lay down rules.'

He thought every one should have freedom: he wrote to a friend: 'I'm sure of this. *Our* way, for other people, is very rarely—in a sense never—the right way. Get

them on to rails of their own, and take the risk of losing them—and don't grumble if they are lost to you; it is what we do to those we love best. And in the end we find we have kept them. The other way, our way—is pure timidity and selfishness, and fails. . . . But the worst of all people are pseudo-philosophers.'

People who are sensitive to impressions must of course suffer more than their fortunately pachydermatous companions can realize. A doctor once said of Pentland that being so thin meant that his nerves were unusually exposed and susceptible to physical pain; his fine perceptions had the same effect with relation to his feelings. He did not speak, or appear ever to think, about his own sensations; if anything unpleasant had to be gone through, it was not mentioned. On the same principle, if some disadvantage was proved inevitable, there had to be no further comment; 'it's no good pulling at your chain,' was another of his axioms. It was probably this sensitiveness that enabled him to show an intuitive understanding and sympathy for others which even slight acquaintances remarked. One of these, a soldier, wrote of him: 'he always appeared to me to say and do the right thing in a very charming kind of way.' Several who met him casually have said too how they realized at once that he was one of those whose vitality somehow makes their presence known in any company. Other people have spoken of his pleasant voice; in going about the house he sang or whistled, and his real love of music was easy to see. In his youth he had played the piano, but afterwards there was not time for him to do more than occasionally sit down and play a few bars of Chopin, or the accompaniments to songs. On Sunday evenings he loved playing over hymns from his collection of hymn-books, lingering at recognized favourites, searching for new discoveries and hailing a find with delight.

One obvious characteristic was his 'happy cheerful smile at all times, that one will never forget,' as a yacht's skipper put it; his sense of humour was uppermost even in emergencies; and his most scathing criticisms were often put in some graphic phrase or Scotch word that made his victim laugh instead of sulk. Dull or heavy moments were lightened by the fresh chaff he applied to everything. He made fun of his own 'fads', as he himself called them, such as water-drinking and non-meat-eating. He delighted in finding new diverting books, and in giving them away; he produced with relish all kinds of quotations which took his fancy. He brought home entertaining descriptions of the funny small adventures he always seemed to meet with or notice in his travellings by train, Tube and omnibus. In the very last week that he was in Scotland, he was alone in a railway carriage and put his feet up on the seat. On the entrance of another passenger he took them down, whereupon the new-comer, who was evidently short-sighted, hastily apologized for his intention of sitting down there, saying, 'Oh, I didn't see the dog.' There were ever so many humorous stories, incidents or conversations which he alone knew and could produce, with just the right local inflexion; and no one enjoyed more heartily the tales told by others.

Of course there is no wish to describe as a paragon one who was so conscious of his shortcomings and limitations. He underwent plenty of criticism upon his public policy, although the critics did not agree together. Some called him over-deliberate, conservative and timid; others over-hasty, radical and reckless. He did succeed in uniting opposite qualities such as boldness and caution, energy and patience, feeling and restraint, unobtrusiveness and strength of will, discrimination and broad-mindedness. He had a turn for the practical and for the poetical, for study and for turning it into action.

He seemed to possess balance, magnanimity, and a sure sense for the best everywhere.

He could get on too equally well with different kinds of people; with men, women and children, with the conventional and the cranky, with the eminent and with those who were disregarded as a rule, but who seemed to become interesting in his company. What he most admired can be inferred from a favourite quotation of his, taken from Lockhart's account of Scott's views on education: ‘“Without courage”, he said, “there cannot be truth: and without truth there can be no other virtue.”’ It was remarkable that he could be so popular, although he seldom praised and never used superlatives, exaggerated or flattered; ‘it isn't May-fly season,’ he would say, if a compliment was angled for. What he did not like in anybody was lack of straightforwardness, inaccurate work and speech, shirking of trouble, gossip or any lack of taste. He would tell them so plainly; he was a candid friend. But as a rule he did not care for what he called ‘digging up roots’; he believed in doing, and in example. So his own character can best be seen in what he did; his philosophy, judging thus from his conduct, was simply to trust in God, to aim at perfection in everything, and to help his neighbours. In a word, he was one of the faithful.

Pentland was always inclined to look ahead, to think and plan about the future, and he was ever anxious therefore to ‘get on with the next thing’; he used to say:

And at my back I always hear
Time's winged chariot hurrying near.

At the end of 1924 he was studying the land question in Scotland; continued education in different forms; proposals for Indian government; and other matters which he hoped to help in pushing on. He spoke at several meetings in Scotland during the General Election

of November 1924, and on the way south stopped to see a school garden at Duns and to look over a house near Hawick. He got back to London for an evening party he had arranged for the Eighty Club, kindly given by Mr. and Mrs. Walter Runciman on 26th November and attended by Mr. Lloyd George. After being laid up with a chill, Pentland presided at another gathering of the Eighty Club on 16th December 1924, when Professor Gilbert Murray spoke on the League of Nations. On 21st December Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya came to spend a Sunday evening, and with him Pentland drew up a list of authorities who might be asked to lecture should India take part in the Wembley Exhibition of 1925. On Sunday, 28th December, he enjoyed hearing a sermon by Dr. R. Horton on 'Other sheep I have which are not of this fold'; in the evening he was at the Friends' Meeting. On the following day he went to have a 'crack' with a friend at the Army and Navy Club, and then to a bookshop in order to despatch to him *The Thirty-nine Steps* by John Buchan; a postcard came next day, saying: 'Very many thanks for the book!! What a good chap you are!' On the 29th December, too, he brought home a pile of books to consult for the notes he was making on the 'Early Letters of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman'; at midnight the notes were finished and he went upstairs happy. Every drawer of his writing-table was left in absolute order; his diary for 1925 had been ordered long before and was filled up with his coming engagements; he was to speak at a rally of the London Young Liberal Federation on 8th January, and to preside at a meeting of the Hampstead branch of the League of Nations Union on 13th January. Among his letters were some about several visits he hoped to make shortly; to Fircroft, the residential settlement for the higher education of working men at Bournville; to the School of Agriculture at Cambridge University; to

the New Reform Club at Oxford. A letter from the New Education Fellowship, 'which seeks to link together pioneers in education,' came sending their magazine and publications in answer to his request. Another answer came from the Challenge Bookshop, enclosing a New Year's Greeting he had inquired for, a solitary copy found with difficulty, as it was out of print:

Three blissful words I name to thee,
Three words of potent charm,
From eating care thy heart to free,
Thy life to shield from harm:
Pray,—Work,—and Sing.

J. Stuart Blackie.

These lines were copied by him on the last used page of his latest notebook of quotations; though he was reserved about his inner sentiments, they appeared in the choice he made from the words of others.

But on 30th December he woke with influenza; after a few days it was followed by pneumonia, and he died peacefully on Sunday, 11th January. On 15th January he was buried beside his parents in the Dean Cemetery, Edinburgh. The funeral service was held in St. George's Parish Church, Edinburgh, where as a child he had first worshipped, and it was taken by the Very Rev. Principal Sir George Adam Smith, D.D. A memorial service, conducted by the minister, the Rev. Joseph Moffett, was held at the church to which Pentland belonged in London, the Scottish National Church, Crown Court, Covent Garden.

The letters that were sent at this time showed what an unusual measure of respect and affection was felt for Pentland by his friends of all stations, and by those who had worked with him in different kinds of public service. They spoke of the impression left on their minds by his high principle and his courage, his disinterestedness, his charm and cheerfulness and con-

sideration. His friends in Madras expressed a generous desire to put up a memorial to him there and on Sunday, 3rd April 1927, at St. Andrew's Church, the Church of Scotland in Madras, it was unveiled by H.E. Viscount Goschen, G.C.I.E., Governor of Madras. The memorial, which was designed by Mr. H. V. Lanchester, is carried out in white marble, and includes a portrait medallion of Lord Pentland by Mr. Pittendrigh MacGillivray, R.S.A., LL.D., King's Sculptor for Scotland. The following words are inscribed on the memorial:

TO THE GLORY OF GOD
AND IN MEMORY OF
JOHN SINCLAIR
1ST BARON PENTLAND OF LYTH
P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D.

BORN JULY 7TH, 1860, DIED JANUARY 11TH, 1925
GOVERNOR OF FORT ST. GEORGE AT MADRAS, 1912-1919.

A DEVOUT AND REGULAR WORSHIPPER IN
THIS CHURCH
THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED BY HIS
FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN AND INDIAN FRIENDS
AS A TRIBUTE TO HIS CHIVALROUS CHARACTER
AND HIGH SENSE OF DUTY, AND AS A TOKEN
OF THEIR REGARD FOR HIS MEMORY.

'WHICH AYE REMINDS US . . .
'WHAT 'TIS TO BE A MAN; . . . TO GIVE, NOT TAKE;
'TO SERVE, NOT RULE; TO NOURISH, NOT DEVOUR;
'TO HELP, NOT CRUSH; IF NEED, TO DIE, NOT LIVE.'¹

Charles Kingsley.

Sir James Simpson, on behalf of the Kirk Session and members of the Church, said: 'Lord Pentland took such a warm personal interest in all the activities of this congregation that it seemed entirely fitting to the Kirk Session that his connexion with us should be com-

¹ The words of the quotation had been chosen by Pentland for the Christmas and New Year greeting cards which reached his friends in India just before the news of his death.

memorated in a manner worthy of a Governor of Madras, and worthy of our beautiful Church. . . . I would just like to mention one unique fact; that of the money required for this memorial, more than half was subscribed by Indian friends.'

His Excellency the Governor said, in the course of his address:

'In the hearts of most of us there must be a shrine to those who now "rest from their labours", which is the centre for us of many tender memories. But I would not have you think of them in retrospect only: we must not "sigh for the vanished hand or the sound of the voice that is still". Let us rather remember that that hand is with us to guide us on our path and that voice to cheer us on our way.'

'When we think of those who have passed on and have left behind them their example, we must not merely pass in remembrance super-men or super-women who from some pre-eminence of intellect, some famous action or some well-known line of conduct, have become famous throughout the world; but let us remember, as George Eliot said, "The good of the world is mainly dependent on unheroic acts." That is to say on men who have led noble lives quietly, unobtrusively and unostentatiously. Surely such a life was that of him whom we are commemorating this morning. I had not the pleasure of friendship with Lord Pentland, but I had the privilege of his acquaintance: I served with him for five years in the House of Commons and also in the House of Lords, and he was one of the last people I saw before leaving England, as I had a talk with him about Madras two nights before I sailed for India. He took part in the civic life of London: he was a Member of the House of Commons and the House of Lords; he served in the Councils of State: he was on the Staff in Canada and finally was

Governor of Madras, but wherever he went he was one of those of his race who, if I may paraphrase the words of the poet, "made a corner of a foreign land Scotland".

'I have had many opportunities of noticing how green his memory is kept in this Presidency; not only in this city but in many of my tours I have come across men who look back with gratitude to a friendship with Lord Pentland and who have shown me letters from him in which he rejoiced with them in their joy and sorrowed with them in their sorrow. Among the old servants at Government House also he is remembered with gratitude for the interest he took in their well-being and his desire to look after their comfort.

'He was in many respects singularly gifted. He had long experience of affairs, a tenacious memory, a subtle and critical intellect, the gift of expression, a kindly and genial humour, a large capacity for seeing all sides of a question, and a tolerance and appreciation of divergent views if sincerely and earnestly held. To these and other qualities he added a charm and courtesy of manner which truly expressed those innate qualities by which he was distinguished. They were no mere superficial graces but the outward manifestation of a nature to which it was repugnant to impute malice or motive, to be impatient of differences of opinion, or to show discourtesy to anyone by word or deed. He had a lofty and stern sense of duty and once he was convinced as to the path he should take, no unpleasantness, no consideration of praise or blame, could deter him from carrying out the task assigned.

'Many of you this morning are also thinking of him as a worshipper in this church,—I do not mean in the narrow sense of the word but rather as one who regarded this church as the fountain from which issued that spiritual influence which permeated his being. From this church he sought that inspiration and guidance

which not only directed his private relations but that strenuous public life which was devoted to the service of the State. He was a gentleman in the highest sense of the word: a Christian in the truest: a man whom we do well to remember and praise to-day.

'My friends, when the time comes for us to hand over our work here to others, we may indeed be well content if around us may cluster such fragrant memories as are associated with his name and if in all humbleness we can say to ourselves that we have served our God, our King and our Country as faithfully as John Sinclair, Lord Pentland served his.'

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